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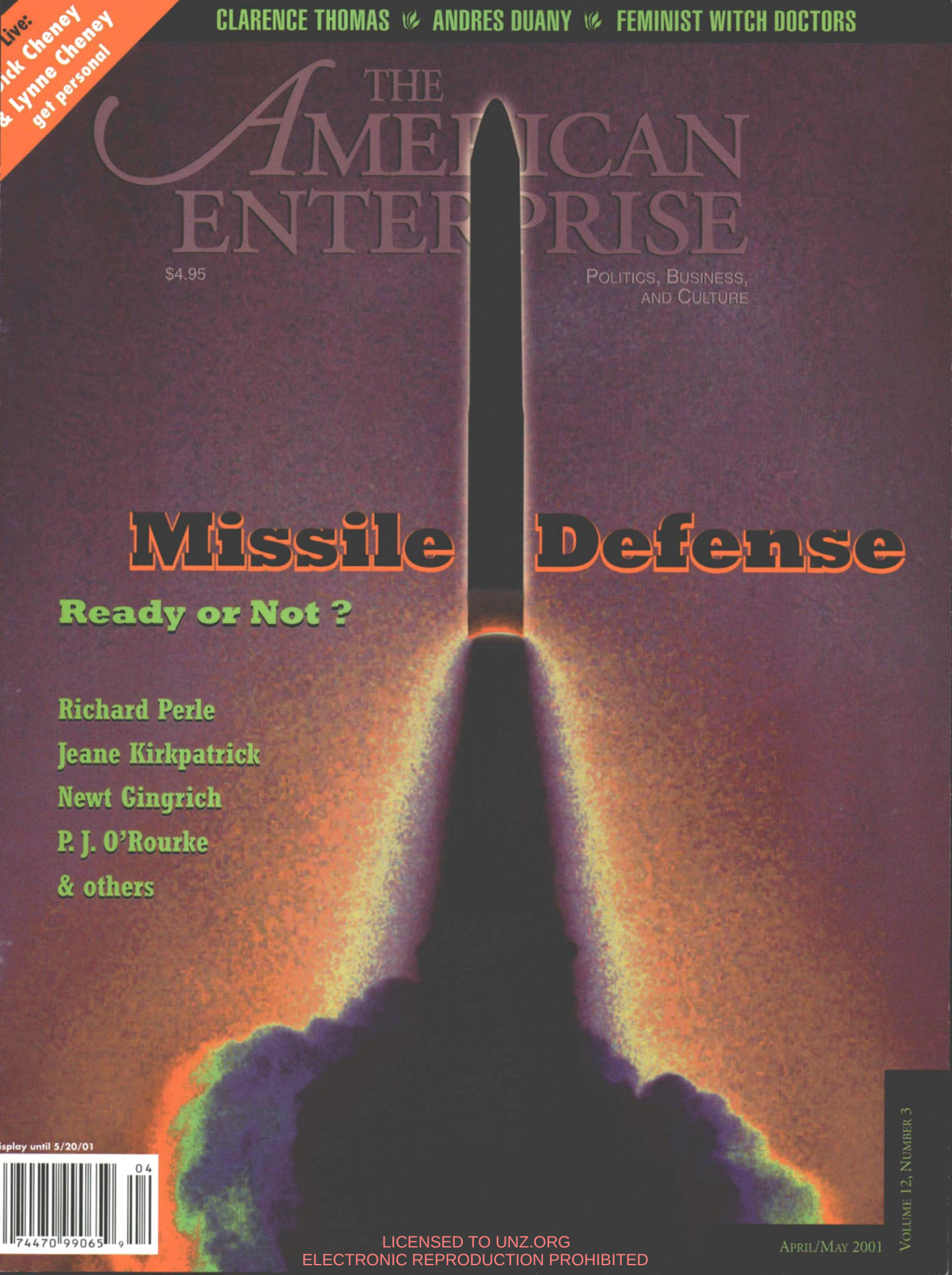

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VOLUME 12, NUMBER 3

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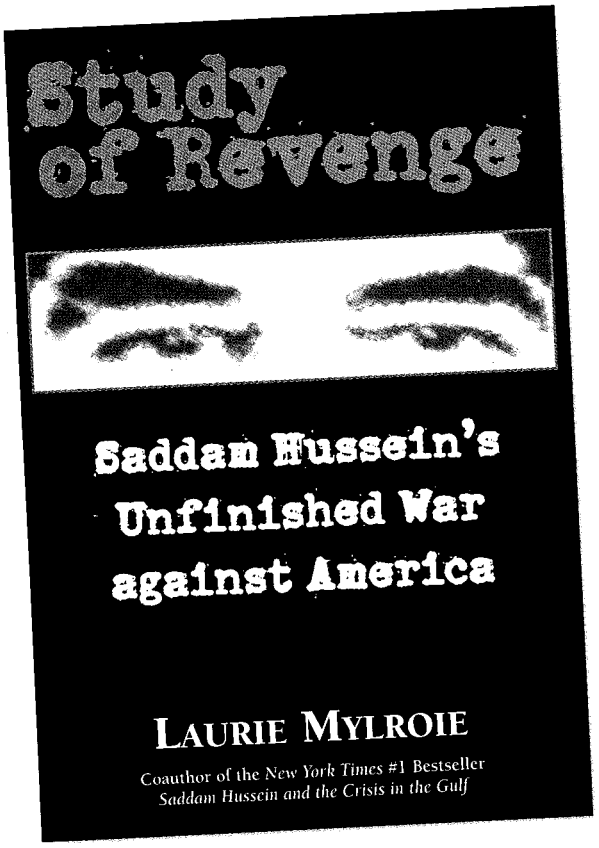

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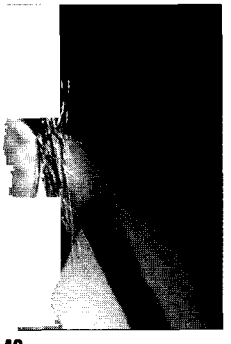

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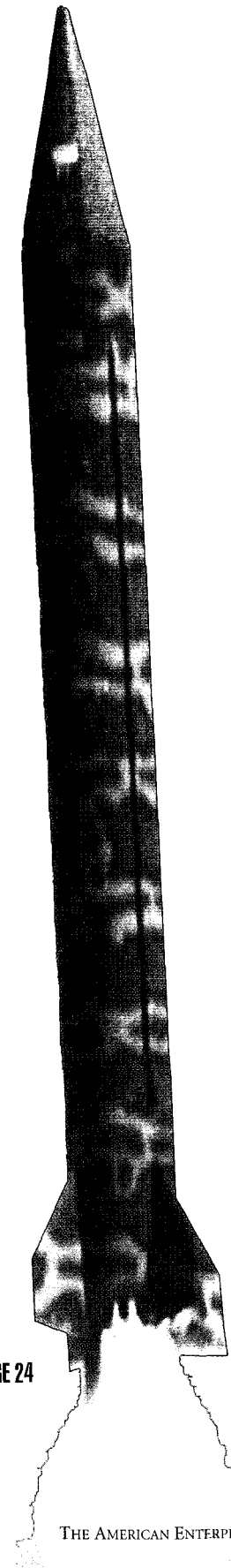

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Bird's Eye

KARL ZINSMEISTER

The Cloud Over Manhattan

I cranked my seat back as soon as we lifted off from Jackson-Sharpton Airport. (Boy, that still sounds funny. But with the one-year anniversary of the Waldorf-Astoria penthouse fire that martyred the two politicos now approaching, anyone using the old name "Laguardia" is likely to get his head handed to him.)

Thoroughly abraided from several hours of business-doing in the offices of New York City magazine swells, I shut my eyes and daydreamed about what my wife and children might be up to back in our neighborly little white-clapboard town in rural upstate. Between the pressure against my kneecaps from the seat in front of me, and the annoying new satellite-linked live radio that the airlines were so proud of playing over the intercom, my drowsing never got very deep.

The global news headlines rattled against my eardrums.

"Puerto Rican radicals fire on homes of the island's two newly elected U.S. Senators, calling them 'collaborationist Toms.'"

"Marc Rich flees the United States a third time. Activists complain he's being selectively prosecuted after being named chairman of the Democratic Party. It's time for the 'obsessives' to 'give up the Puritan freak show,' because the country is 'ready to move on,' argues Rich's predecessor Terry McAuliffe, speaking from his Pennsylvania minimum security prison."

"In a shocking report from Britain, Harlow Devine, the Oxford genoset engineer and pediaculturer who made history by cloning himself and then adopting the resulting baby, was arrested yesterday on allegations of unlawful contact with a minor—his own clone. A spokeswoman for the group Auto-Love Liberation (ALL) decried 'the criminalization of personal exploration and self-esteem.'"

"Meanwhile, as the last U.S. auto manufacturer closed down, President Gore sought to deflect blame. She was joined in Washington by her now-gray father, who told the press, 'I've always counseled Karenna that dirty jobs and dirty money like those produced by auto manufacturing are better relocated overseas anyway, or preferrably off the planet. Besides, I've designed some wind-powered sailing cars that Karenna and I view as America's future.'"

Jostled by so much unsettling news, my sleepy brain started ruminating on current affairs. The situation that really worried me, and most other Americans, was China. The riots that had broken out in the large northern re-education camps housing religious dissidents had quickly spread. Over the last several months, nearly every city in the country had experienced an uprising. Repeatedly, the security police had squashed the protests with ferocious vigor, and, repeatedly, the bulk of the Chinese populace had remained strangely passive. But all across the country, a small body of courageous freedom-fighters refused to be crushed.

That was when, predictably as winter follows fall, the menacing of Taiwan had begun. The unpopular Chinese authorities, desperate for patriotic distraction, started making ludicrous charges that the Taiwanese were going to "attack" the mainland. The PRC began massing its troops, emboldened by the fecklessness of the current American administration—its foreign policy overseen by the dottering rake Bill Clinton as Secretary of State (who'd returned to D.C. from his luxury mothballing as Disney's Chairman of Entertain-

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ment Standards only because he was aiming for a redeeming Nobel Peace Prize).

Finally a bomber, naval artillery, and missile attack rating somewhere between ugly and comical was launched across the Strait of Formosa, to "protect" the mainland. The Taiwanese, having quietly assembled some first-rate weaponry over the previous decades, struck back with astonishing precision, devasting Chinese airfields, radar sites, and tens of thousands of ragtag soldiers. A small American cruise missile fusillade followed to underscore the point. China staggered.

Next came a tense, quiet stalemate, with almost no hostile movement on either side. This had so far lasted for nearly a month. Several U.S. aircraft carriers bristled through the East China Sea, and people all across the globe rested on pins and needles. But the Gore-Clinton leadership seemed oddly paralyzed, and the adrenaline of a 24-hour news crisis can only be sustained for so long, so people (seeming almost bored suddenly) were returning to the regular rhythms of their lives, as my own business trip attested.

It was just as I was mulling these unsettling thoughts that the first urgent bulletins began to be broadcast on the satellite radio. It was reported in rapid staccato tones that the People's Republic of China had loosed a flurry of short-range nuclear missiles, destroying most of the island of Taiwan, and the 22 million people living thereon. There was an additional, unconfirmed report that the aircraft carriers *USS Abraham Lincoln* and *USS Harry S. Truman* had also been targeted with nuclear missiles, along with their escort fleets, snuffing out in a single blow 18,000 American lives, scores of billions of dollars worth of machinery, and a big chunk of America's national firepower. There were rumors, repeated by the now wild-voiced radio announcer, that the U.S. had retaliated, or would soon, with a nuclear strike against all mainland Chinese military facilities.

Our airplane cabin went so quiet it was as if all the oxygen had been sucked out of the fuselage. Then murmurings started, some of them panicky, and steward call buttons began to ping percussively up and down the aisle. My first thought made my nostrils flare: "And our illustrious previous President Hillary Clinton cancelled final deployment of America's laser anti-missile shield, saying it would compete with federal spending on child care, and might unsettle rivals overseas. Sure hope *your* child is overseas right now, Mrs. Clinton, because America the beautiful is about to become very unsafe for children, women, and men alike."

I was suddenly bolt upright, and very much awake; this allowed me to take in, with crystal clear eyes, every bit of what followed. We were perhaps 15 minutes out of New York City and heading northwest toward the Catskills when suddenly there was a searing flash of light. It was so harsh I instantly thought, "thank God we're pointed in the opposite direction; if I'd been looking at that my retinas would have been seared." There was an eerie moment where everything seemed to freeze, and then pandemonium broke out. Our pilots banked our turboprop hard downward and to the west.

I THOUGHT: THAT IS THE DEBRIS OF FIVE BOROUGHS, THOUSANDS OF BUILDINGS, MILLIONS OF HUMAN BODIES, ERUPTING SKYWARD....

As they did, we got a view of the southerly horizon that will be imprinted upon me forever. Once on a canoe trip to Hudson's Bay I witnessed a shimmeringly weird display of the Aurora Borealis. That was the only thing I could remotely compare to the view now visible out of our left windows. As we watched, a vast smoke puff, like a cyclopean pipe ring, expanded to astonishing dimensions, all in the blink of an eye. Then the soft, chalky cloud began to be shot up through the middle with a shaft of brown, then black, then purple darkness, a sort of menacing geyser spouting up through a lovely soft donut of white. It occurred to me: That is the debris of five boroughs, of thousands of skyscrapers and apartments, of millions of human bodies, erupting skyward in a filthy mash that will next rain violently back down on the hole where Manhattan once was.

Wall Street and all the people and vital instruments of America's financial sector, vaporized. Broadway, Derek Jeter, irreplaceable art works by the thousands, all erased from the face of the earth. The *New York Times*, Dan Rather, the Whitney Museum, Madonna, Donald Trump...ah, but then there's a silver lining to any cloud.

I snapped back to the present just as a shock wave—racing toward us visibly over the final few miles, like a ripple shaken into a bedspread—hit our plane. Even with the preparatory bank our Air Force-trained pilots had taken to brace us, it hit with a horrible blast. My mind was strangely clear, wondering if I would live to see grass and lake and clear sky again, but much more urgently wondering whether radiation fallout from New York City would poison certain beloved residents of a village 180 miles to the northwest. Then I wondered exactly how many nuclear missiles the Chinese possessed. How many they intended to fling against my homeland. And which other cities, and families, might disappear forever in the process.

The little nightmare I've just sketched is, for the moment, nothing but a dark fantasy. But it is a vision Americans need to begin taking seriously. For cataclysmically powerful weapons are spreading fast to new countries, including some headed by irresponsible and even criminal leaders. There is ultimately no stopping the dissemination of bomb- and rocket-making science, and the result is that, over the next two decades or so, the chances are grimly high that one or more cities in the Middle East, or Europe, or America may get the Hiroshima treatment. If we don't take active measures to defend against this, we'll leave ourselves open to assaults that would make Pearl Harbor look like a squirt gun attack.

Even absent any disastrous civilian slaughter like I've described above, a world in which the U.S. and other responsible nations lack an effective missile defense would be traumatically dangerous. Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld has noted that if, for instance, Saddam Hussein had possessed any medium- or long-range ballistic missiles during the Gulf War, assembling a coalition of nations to repel his invasion could have been impossible. Even the *chance* of a fireball or gas cloud over Paris would

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have been enough to convince many Europeans that, "come to think of it, maybe Kuwait isn't worth arguing over…."

With the stakes so high, why would any sensible person *oppose* a missile defense?

One source of foot-dragging is anxiety over whether the Russians or Chinese will get upset. That was what paralyzed doves all through the Cold War. But trying to allay the paranoid fears of not-very-democratic governments is a no-win venture. We learned in the twentieth century that simply guarding America's safety and national interests—quietly, judiciously, yet very firmly—is the best way to deal with the Russians and Chinese. We need to remember that now.

MISSILE DEFENSE RESEARCH IS ROARING ALONG VERY FRUITFULLY. EVEN BILL CLINTON ADMITTED IN 1999 THAT DEFENDING AGAINST BALLISTIC MISSILES "APPEARS TO BE FAR MORE PROMISING THAN MANY HAD THOUGHT—INCLUDING ME."

Another favorite argument against missile defense is that "it'll cost too much." (As if recovering from a detonation of New York would be cheap.) Often linked to the cost complaint is the claim that "it'll never work." Of course those same two arguments have been lobbed against every new weapon ever invented, from submarines to airplanes to laser-guided bombs.

Truth is, missile defense research is currently roaring along very fruitfully. 1999 brought several successful intercepts of incoming warheads by both our PAC-3 and THAAD defensive missiles. In 2000 a breakthrough laser weapon shot down a Russian-built missile over the White Sands test facility. Even Bill Clinton, no friend of these programs, admitted in 1999 that defending against ballistic missiles "appears to be far more promising than many had thought—including me a few years ago."

While snotty critics like to mock missile defense as Star Wars "science fiction," the reality is that missile-blocking weapons like our shipborne Aegis system (which defends aircraft carrier groups) have for years been doing the sort of shielding now needed on a wider basis. Many of these existing and prototype defenses can be upgraded quickly, with wider-reaching and more futuristic elements gradually added over time.

And the great progress already made has been accomplished for a relative pittance. The anti-missile lasers now showing such stunning promise, for instance, get a total annual funding of about $500 million. That's less than 4 percent of what we Americans spend each year buying chocolate. That's one-quarter of what we spend annually on chewing gum.

The fact is, missile defense has been starved for funding by our recent leaders. The final budget of the elder President Bush planned spending of $6.3 billion on missile defense for fiscal year 1994. Instead, the newly elected Clinton-Gore administration and Democratic Congress cut this figure to $2.8 billion. Further cuts were planned for subsequent years, and headed off only by the arrival of the Republican Congress two years later. For most of the decade, missile defense research was locked at this dribbling level.

Meanwhile, the offensive capabilities of other nations leapt forward. In just the last few years, the North Koreans tested a potent new missile, the Chinese have upgraded their nuclear weapons dramatically with technology taken from the U.S., Pakistan conducted underground nuclear tests and missile launches, India reciprocated, the Iranians flight-tested a ballistic missile, and the Iraqis resumed building and testing missiles of their own.

Spooked by this spate of menacing developments, the House of Representatives voted 317 to 105 in 1999 to deploy a missile defense system "as soon as is technologically feasible." Reluctant Clintonites, however, refused to push forward. This inspired Frederick Seitz, former president of the National Academy of Sciences, to complain that the new roadblocks to success in missile defense have simply become "time and funding…that is, political will."

George W. Bush now arrives with a very different political will, and he seems likely to hit the accelerator. In September of last year he promised, "At the earliest possible date, my administration will deploy antiballistic missile systems…to guard against attack and blackmail." If we are lucky, this will be part of a wider Bush effort to shift all of our military forces into a whole new generation of weapons and methods of defending America (while abandoning some costly means that are now outdated).

Since the fall of the Berlin Wall our military has simply been whacked in funding; no fundamental effort has been made to reshape our troops in acknowledgement of the fact that most of the old threats are gone, while very different new ones have popped up. A much lighter, more mobile, more decentralized, and higher tech military is now needed. Fewer fighter planes and tanks and aircraft carriers, more missiles and submarines. Less emphasis on Europe, more on Asia. Greater protection against biological attack. Active barriers against computer sabotage. Better guarding of our communication systems. And stretching over all this, a shield to protect our populace and economic centers from devastating rocket-borne attack.

As one Brookings researcher argued a year and a half ago, missile defense is no longer an ideological issue. It shouldn't raise partisan hackles. "No one thinking soundly, logically, would construct a strategic framework with offense only. Not the New York Giants, not America," is how Colin Powell put it bluntly this January. Missile defense is now a national necessity, and an inevitability.

What it has boiled down to is simply a grand engineering challenge. That is something Americans are very good at. It's time to launch a mini-Manhattan Project to get a continental safety shield up sooner rather than later.

And this time it could be Manhattan itself that gets saved as a result.

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Sidelights

Before administering a journalism admissions test to his undergraduate students at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, professor **David Brackes** gave it to his own children, ages 11 and 17. Both did well, with his 17-year-old daughter scoring 67 out of 68 points. By contrast, fully 80 percent of Brackes' students failed to reach the minimum passing score of 54. ❦ Message left on a White House answering machine: "This is **Al Gore**'s office. Due to a constitutional crisis, I will be out of the office for four years." ··· Departing **Clinton** administration staffers trashed White House offices, but the new administration declined to prosecute the vandals, leading *Washington Post* columnist **William Raspberry** to observe, "If this is class warfare, then it's the **Bush** people who are displaying all the class." ❦ Los Angeles Superior Court Judge **Patrick B. Murphy** faces a disciplinary hearing after taking upwards of 400 sick days over the last four years. Witnesses claim Judge Murphy was attending a Caribbean medical school during a portion of his "sick leave." ❦ As of January 1, 2001, all toy guns bought, sold, or manufactured in California must be painted bright orange and/or bright green. Violators may be fined up to $10,000. ··· Several weeks after the California law took effect, Disneyland was still selling illegal toy guns. Disney CEO **Michael Eisner** sits on an advisory panel for CeaseFire, an anti-gun group. ❦ British schoolchildren are now encouraged to use the "internationally standardized" spellings of scientific terms, such as sulfate, not sulphate. One teacher told the *Daily Telegraph*, "It's more to do with cultural imperialism by America than wanting to standardize…next they'll be telling us to drop the *i* in *aluminium* because Americans can't pronounce it." ❦ **Richard** and **Toni Goldsmith** saved every catalogue they received in the mail last year. The *San Antonio Express-News* reports it took 12 boxes to hold 1,800 catalogues from 375 companies, weighing in at nearly 500 pounds.

The U.S. Treasury expects to tax over 48,000 estates in 2001, a 78 percent increase over the 1991 figure, the *Wall Street Journal* reports. ❦ The World Health Organization (WHO) seeks a global ban on cigarette machines. The *Japan Times* reports that Japanese tobacco companies, which rely on machines for their profits, are fighting the WHO plan: "Over 300,000 Japanese retailers and 70,000 people are involved in the vending machine industry." ··· Over half of Japanese men smoke, twice the U.S. number. ··· Japan ranked first in a WHO study of longest healthy life expectancy; the U.S. ranked twenty-forth. ❦ Latin is making a comeback in public schools, with more attention given to Roman mythology and culture. **Marion Polsky**, author of an elementary school textbook on the subject, says, "One thing that makes it engaging for kids is the goofy fun of investigating these guys in togas." ❦ Are journalists just underpaid workin' folk? When house-hunting in Washington, D.C., one home **Hillary Clinton** looked at was owned by *New York Times* reporter **Michael Oreskes**. It was listed at $1.7 million. ❦ The main seat of Los Angeles government, City Hall East, was cited for 480 fire code violations last year. ❦ London insurers say global kidnappings for ransom hit a record 1,789 in 1999, up 6 percent from the previous year. ··· Over 60 percent of *Fortune* 500 companies carry ransom insurance for their corporate employees. ❦ **Norma McCorvey**—"Roe" of *Roe v. Wade*—endorsed **John Ashcroft** for Attorney General. "I know John Ashcroft and can tell you the attacks against him are nothing less than the expressed anti-Christian hatred of the extreme Left in this country." ❦ Researchers report the rate of HIV infections among San Francisco gay men has doubled since 1997 and continues to climb. A quarter of the city's gay males are currently HIV positive. ❦ Before the 2000 election, several celebrities—director **Robert Altman**, singers **Eddie Vedder** and **Barbra Streisand**, actors **Alec Baldwin**, **Martin Sheen**, **Rosie O'Donnell**, **Matt Damon**, **Whoopi Goldberg**, **Ed Asner**, **Tim Robbins**, and **Susan Sarandon**—vowed to leave the country if Bush were elected. So far the only well-known personage actually to flee is **JFK** White House press secretary and former ABC News correspondent **Pierre Salinger**. ❦ Manhattan resident (and Republican) **Warren Davis** has had a personalized license plate bearing a single *W* for a decade. Nine days after the presidential election, the *New York Post* reports, Davis was told by the DMV he would have to give it up. The *W* supposedly is going to someone with "political clout." ❦ The Virginia Senate voted to allow Fairfax County to forbid its residents from sleeping in any room besides their bedroom. —*BB*

"Marcus Witherspoon? We have reason to believe you remained on the line for a personal representative when you did indeed have a touch-tone phone."

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SCAN

THE 1980S RETURN

Looks like we're in an instant replay of the early 1980s: a slowing economy, a new Republican President, proposed tax cuts to re-fuel the economy, and an explosion of divisive rhetoric from the professional class warriors on Capitol Hill.

This time around it's Senate Minority Leader Tom Daschle, worrying that "the rich" could buy a new Lexus under the proposed tax cut. In 1984 it was Walter Mondale, the Democratic presidential candidate, crying that tax cuts would benefit "only Reagan's rich friends."

Mondale went on to lose in a 49-state landslide, and it wasn't only fat cats who ended up with more money in their wallets after Reagan cut taxes. The jobless rate—9.7 percent in 1982—was cut to 5.3 percent by 1989. That was 4.2 million fewer people in the unemployment lines. Interest rates and inflation likewise declined.

Reagan's experience in Hollywood taught him the folly of high taxes. "He was especially appalled that actors who made several films a year found themselves paying marginal tax rates that consumed the bulk of their extra income," writes biographer Dinesh D'Souza. Quitting in March, a top actor could remain comfortably rich, only a little less so, and spend more time golfing. Who paid the price of soak-the-rich taxation? All those tossed out of work when another movie wasn't made—writers, janitors, secretaries, stagehands, etc.

It's not much different when "the rich" buy a $50,000 car today. That money turns into $50,000 in new income for everyone from steel and rubber workers to stockholders and car salesmen, with about three-quarters of it, on average, going directly to labor.

Daschle is right that under Bush's plan, folks at the top of the income pile, even though they receive much smaller percentage cuts in their income taxes than middle- and lower-income groups, will still reap the largest benefits in dollar terms. After all, a $6,000 tax bill cut by 50 percent yields fewer dollars back than a $200,000 tax bill cut by 10 percent.

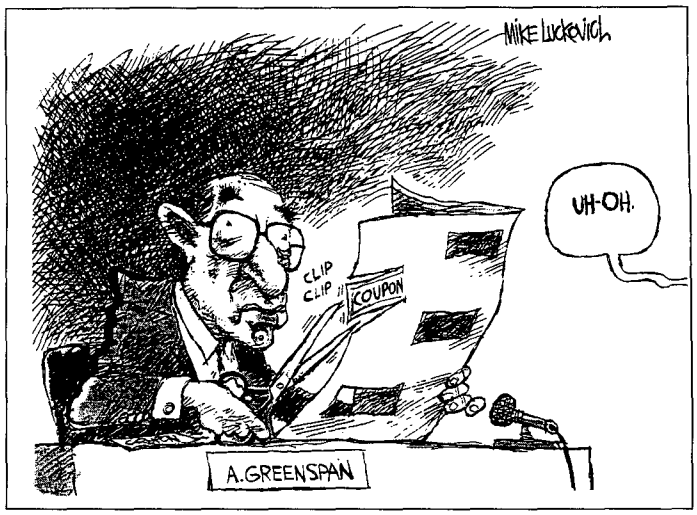
And it's true that some lucky couple making $950,000 a year would get about a $43,000 tax cut, the price of a new Lexus. But it's a "free" car only if one starts with the notion that the government has first rights to our money.

Worse, Daschle ignores the rest of the story. What will the tax bill be on that $950,000, even after the proposed Bush cuts? More than $258,000 (just in federal income taxes, not counting state and local levies). That's enough to pay for several nice cars and drivers at the Senate so guys like Daschle can enjoy a free ride around Capitol Hill.

The 1993 hike in income tax rates disproportionately hit the owners of America's small businesses. Huge amounts of income and investment capital were drained out of the small firms that now create on the order of seven out of every ten new jobs. "Over the past decade," Stephen Moore of the Cato Institute recently found, "the 10 states that cut taxes the most created about twice as many new jobs and enjoyed about 27 percent more income growth than the 10 states that raised taxes the most."

Perhaps Daschle and his associates should forget about cars and start thinking about how to get an over-sized tax burden off the backs of Americans who get up every day and create the bulk of the nation's new wealth.

—Economist **Ralph Reiland** *is a* TAE *contributing writer.*



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PERFECT TEST OF MEDIA BIAS

It's almost a perfect experiment: A President is inaugurated and immediately issues executive orders that reverse several policies of his predecessor. Then the next President is inaugurated and reverses the very same policies back to where they were.

Now watch whether the media treat the two identical stories the same way.

The Media Research Center did, and they found just the bias you'd expect: When President Clinton revoked Ronald Reagan's executive orders on abortion in January 1993, news reports praised him for keeping his campaign promise. But in January 2001, when George W. Bush reversed Clinton's executive orders on abortion, the press turned mournful, gave little credit for a promise kept, stressed "controversy," and strongly implied the President was pandering.

That's the average reporter's idea of equal time.

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BY THEIR ACRONYMS YE SHALL KNOW THEM

Remember the acronym in the air in the early days of the Clinton presidency? "FOB"—as in "Friend of Bill"—was a shorthand for the cronies, back-scratching insiders, and Clinton loyalists whose fingerprints ended up on so many of the administration's most imperious deeds.

It's interesting to note that in the early days of the Bush administration, the hot new acronym is "FBO"—as in "Faith-Based Organization," the religious groups whose innovative charitable works make them the workhorses of Bush's compassionate conservatism.

From FOBs to FBOs is not a big shift linguistically. But when it comes to modes of governing and the ethics of conducting business in our nation's capital, it's one giant leap for mankind.

AL, YOU DANGEROUS ZEALOT

When President Bush set up an office to offer federal support to religious charities, critics insisted that a long dark night of religious jackbootery was descending.

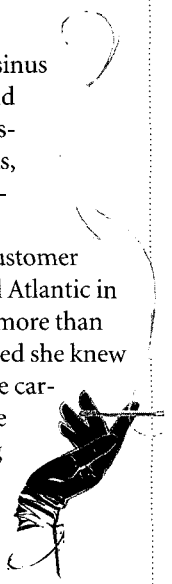
Government grants to Unitarian food shelves are just the beginning. Soon your daughters' chainmail chastity belts will clink as they walk, heads down, from Shame School to their jobs in the Bible Bindery. Crosses will rise over the Post Office! In every government office, cackling Jesuits with whips will force civil servants to run the Constitution through the shredder! It's the age of unreason the Left has long predicted.

And the campaign rhetoric clearly warned us: "Let us put the solutions that faith-based organizations are pioneering at the very heart of our national strategy for building a better, more just nation. Many people in the faith-based organizations want…not to be merely a shining anecdote in a pretty story told by a politician, but to have a seat at the national table when decisions get made…. Today I give you this pledge: If you elect me President, the voices of faith-based organizations will be integral to the policies set forth in my administration."

Pretty scary stuff, eh? Funny thing is, that quotation was spoken by *Al Gore*, in May 1999.

—James Lileks *is a syndicated columnist with Newhouse News Service.*

SMOKING GUN



"I started having headaches, sinus and allergy problems, skin and eye irritation, sore throats, respiratory infections, bronchitis, sleep disorders, and a deteriorating memory," says Brenda Smith. Having worked as a customer service representative for Bell Atlantic in Virginia Beach, Virginia, for more than 25 years, she became convinced she knew what was making her sick: the carbonless duplicating paper she used to write up Call Waiting requests, change telephone listings, and fulfill other customer requests. The same paper millions of people use every day in restaurants and stores whenever they sign a credit card receipt.

If Smith, 52, has her way, the companies making the paper will soon go the way of Big Tobacco. Smith and several other women who used the paper and now blame infirmities on it are suing 12 manufacturers. "This is a product used almost everywhere," says Smith. "The potential for litigation from worker's compensation to product liability is huge," she told *TAE*.

In addition to money, Smith and the others who formed the Carbonless Copy Paper Injury and Information Network want the federal government to classify the product—of which an estimated 700,000 tons are shipped each year in the U.S.—as a chemical substance, requiring that it be regulated and include warning labels. If the feds and trial lawyers get involved, a replay of Alar on apples, "sudden acceleration syndrome," electrical power line panic, and similar cases could occur.

As part of her war on carbonless paper, Smith surreptitiously obtained classified company documents from Appleton Paper, one of the leading makers of carbonless paper, that contained trade secrets—including the company's particular recipe for carbonless paper (which it tries to keep secret from competitors). Smith demanded $30 million for the return of the documents, saying otherwise she would post them on her website. Industry representatives described the ploy as tantamount to extortion. A judge ordered Smith to return the documents or be held in contempt.

Despite that rebuke, and the fact that there is no science supporting Smith's claims, her crusade is beginning to gather attention in the press. Publications ranging from the *New York Times* to the *National Law Journal* have recently picked up Smith's assertions about the causes of her medical travails. One article lauded her as "the terror of an entire industry."

In their reports on Smith's complaints of respiratory and other health problems suffered at the hands of Big Paper, however, the *New York Times* and other outlets didn't mention one little fact: That the health-afflicted Brenda Smith was addicted to cigarette smoking, which she admitted to *TAE* when we bothered to ask. Apparently some reporters didn't think that fact advanced their story.

NOT EVERYTHING IS GETTING BETTER

The Princeton Review has scored a number of presidential debates according to the sophistication of their language and concepts. It finds the latest Bush-Gore debate was conducted at a sixth- to seventh-grade level. That compares to a tenth-grade level in the Nixon-Kennedy debates 40 years ago, and an eleventh- to twelfth-grade level in the Lincoln-Douglas debates a century before that.

Somehow we don't think this decline will be reversed by wiring more schools to the Internet.

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I BLAME THE EGYPTIANS

A 14-year-old girl died in my neighborhood—allegedly raped and murdered. In the morning paper, amid flailing accusations about who's to blame, one writer lashed out: "Whoever dumped the couch there, it's their fault. That's where little guys entice little girls." (The "little guy" in this case was an 18-year-old senior in high school.)

This is a very modern bit of blame-shifting, fingering litterbugs for the rape and murder of a young girl. But after thinking about it for a while, I realize it doesn't go nearly far enough.

We ought not blame whoever left the furniture in the park, we ought to blame the furniture *makers.* Craftsmen make the couches—they're the ones responsible for the girl's death.

But wait, that's not really fair, because like the Peruvian peasants who are only trying to make a living by growing coca, today's furniture makers are just seeking to survive in a capitalist world. Let us call the furniture *advertisers* to justice! It's the admen, with their deadly "End of the Year!" sales and "No interest for six months!" offers, who make the couches attractive in the first place. I venture to say we wouldn't even *have* couches if it weren't for the ads that brainwash us into thinking we need them.

Somehow, though, blaming the sellers and advertisers doesn't go far enough. Aren't they simply selling a luxurious image created by queens like Victoria, Anne, and Elizabeth, and kings like Louis XIV? Let's call the historical hegemonists of ostentation to account.

Possibly, however, the real culprit lies even further back. During the Middle Ages? No, those religious fanatics were focused on things other than comfort and couches. What about the Romans? They gave us the "slab table." Most likely, though, the Romans got their couches from the Greeks, who in turn got them from the Egyptians. The Egyptians—surely *they* knew the temptations of proneness.

Yes! The Egyptians! It's *their* fault! I call King Tut to the stand for giving us attractive, evil couches capable of corrupting innocent, underprivileged free spirits.

Exoneration complete. Fault for the horrible death of 14-year-old Nina Coleman in my neighborhood of Mira Mesa, California, lies indirectly with the Couch Dumper, and directly with the ancient Egyptians. Blame it on them.

Because there is simply no way in hell today that responsibility for a tragedy like this could lie with *corrupt youth.* That would be, well, too easy.

—**Bob Sale** *writes from San Diego.*

BETTER THAN CONDOMS IN A COOKIE JAR

The condoms-in-a-cookie-jar crowd has long insisted there is no effective alternative to their favored method for dealing with teen sex, pregnancy, and disease. "Abstinence" programs presented as an option bring only derisive snorts from liberal sex educators.

As evidence accumulates, however, that snorting looks more and more foolish. For example, a major study in the *American Journal of Sociology* recently found that teens who took an abstinence pledge, such as the one promoted by the program "True Love Waits," were 34 percent less likely to have premarital sex than others, and were far older when they finally did have intercourse.

"The delay effect is substantial and almost impossible to erase," wrote Columbia's Peter Bearman and Yale's Hannah Bruckner. "Taking a pledge delays intercourse for a long time. The pledge effect is not a selection effect. It is real and it is substantial." A companion report added that teens taking vows were also less likely to become pregnant or contract sexually transmitted diseases—two problems "highly correlated with sexual experiences starting at an early age."

"The typical pledger is not some far-right religious kid," Bearman said. "These are the kids you see at the mall." In fact, the research explicitly controlled for the religious factor, since church-going children are less likely to have sex in the first place.

About 2.5 million teens have taken vows so far.

SWITCH OFF JESSE'S SPOTLIGHT

On the heels of revelations he fathered a child with his mistress, the Reverend Jesse Jackson has tumbled further from the moral high ground by adding former Chicago Democratic Congressman Mel Reynolds to the Rainbow/PUSH Coalition's payroll. Reynolds was among 176 criminals pardoned in President Clinton's last-minute forgiveness spree. Reynolds received a commutation

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of his six-and-a-half-year sentence for 15 convictions of wire fraud, bank fraud, and lies to the Federal Election Commission. He is more notorious, however, for concurrently serving five years for sleeping with an underage campaign volunteer.

This is a first in American politics. An ex-Congressman who had sex with a subordinate won clemency from a President who had sex with a subordinate, then was hired by a clergyman who had sex with a subordinate.

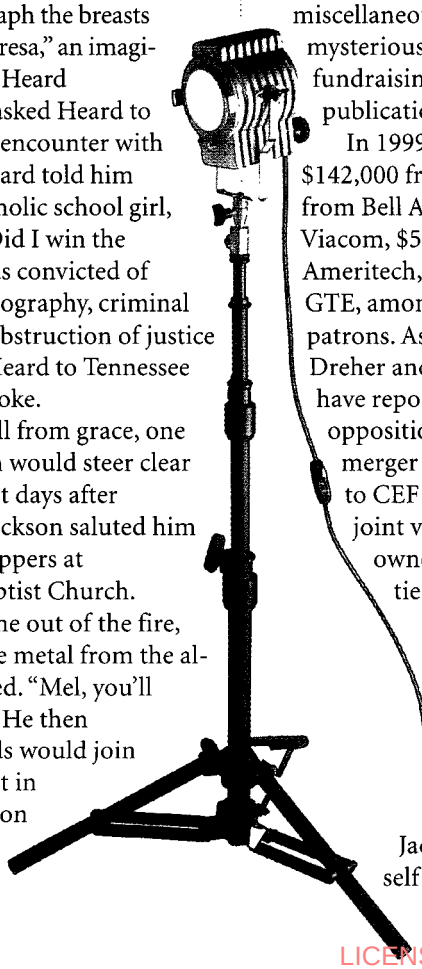
An Illinois jury convicted Reynolds in 1995 for having a sexual relationship with Beverly Heard, age 16. They first met in 1992, when Reynolds was driving around Chicago's Morgan Park High School. "I was on my way home," Heard testified. "Mr. Reynolds was in his car, and he stopped his car and gestured for me to come over." Heard said Reynolds offered his business card and began phoning to say how good she would look in the nude. Soon they were having sex.

Heard eventually approached police, who taped phone calls in which Reynolds asked her to photograph the breasts and genitalia of "Theresa," an imaginary 15-year-old girl Heard invented. Reynolds asked Heard to arrange a three-way encounter with "Theresa." When Heard told him "Theresa" was a Catholic school girl, Reynolds replied, "Did I win the Lotto?" Reynolds was convicted of soliciting child pornography, criminal sexual assault, and obstruction of justice for trying to spirit Heard to Tennessee when the scandal broke.

Given his own fall from grace, one might think Jackson would steer clear of Reynolds. But just days after Reynolds' release, Jackson saluted him before 2,500 worshippers at Chicago's Salem Baptist Church. "Mel, when you come out of the fire, the fire separates the metal from the alloy," Jackson declared. "Mel, you'll come out stronger." He then announced Reynolds would join Rainbow/PUSH, not in some humble position serving soup to the homeless, but as a consultant—on prison reform! Jesse "count all the votes" Jackson apparently saw no irony in hiring Reynolds despite his being jailed for diverting labor union political contributions earmarked for voter registration into his own coffers.

Jackson, meanwhile, faces fresh questions on his own finances. Fox News Channel has recently asked a simple question: Where does Jackson get his money? Tax returns unveiled on "The O'Reilly Factor" indicate Jackson's Citizenship Education Fund (CEF) raised $2,077,219 in 1998 and $9,919,914 in 1999. Meanwhile, it spent only $30,933 and $15,699 on education and research in those years, respectively. CEF dedicated just 0.39 percent of its budget to its stated purpose.

Where did the rest of the money go? Salaries and wages cost $1.5 million, while non-itemized travel and conference expenses consumed $2,486,449 in 1999 alone. CEF also lists $1.3 million in consulting fees. Yet its IRS form requiring the names of consultants states, "None." The $222,000 in unspecified miscellaneous expenses are nearly as mysterious as the $0 spent on fundraising fees, printing, and publications.



In 1999, Jackson received $142,000 from AT&T, $375,000 from Bell Atlantic, $377,000 from Viacom, $500,000 from SBC and Ameritech, and $625,000 from GTE, among other corporate patrons. As the *New York Post*'s Rod Dreher and the *Chicago Sun-Times* have reported, Jackson reversed his opposition to these companies' merger plans after they donated to CEF and agreed to set up joint ventures with minority-owned firms, including some tied to his family.

Jackson fancies himself the President of Black America. What a nightmare for those of us who expect prominent blacks to be dignified. Jackson has exposed himself as a philandering shakedown artist who has embraced a pedophile. Would someone please switch off his spotlight?

—Scripps Howard columnist **Deroy Murdock** *is a* TAE *contributing writer.*

ZERO TOLERANCE, ZERO SENSE

"Zero tolerance" for weapons has become standard procedure in our schools. The motive is admirable, but in practice the idea is often carried to counterproductive extremes.

A young child was suspended for bringing to school a toy soldier holding a tiny plastic gun, for example. In response to a "women in history" program, a girl wanted to come dressed as sharpshooter Annie Oakley. The teacher told her toy guns were forbidden. Her parents suggested a broom, but this too was forbidden. Two five-year-olds were suspended for playing cops-and-robbers while simulating guns with their fingers. A nine-year-old was sent to therapy for threatening to "shoot" a classmate with a spitball. Elsewhere, children were disci-

THE BOOBS TUBE

Studies show TV continues to become scuzzier. The latest Kaiser Foundation research on 1,114 randomly selected programs finds 68 percent of all shows now contain sexual content—up sharply from 56 percent just two years ago.

In certain categories, the raunch is even more pervasive. Fully 84 percent of all sit-coms, for instance, and 89 percent of TV movies, now involve sex or sexually oriented language. During primetime hours, 75 percent of all shows contain sexual content.

The participants are getting younger, too—from 1998 to 2000, the portion of the characters having sex who were teenagers tripled.

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plined for bringing in books or papers dealing with guns.

It gets worse. A high school senior had been accepted by the Coast Guard Academy and wanted her yearbook photo to show her winning a rifle-marksmanship prize. The principal objected because the picture would "promote violence." A student wanted to write a paper on the Marine Corps but could find no references in the high school library. The librarian told him "violent" books were not allowed.

Our abhorrence extends not only to the idea of guns, but also to the idea of using force to defend ourselves from tyrants. L.A. no longer schedules Independence Day observances. The Los Angeles Board of Education banned high school ROTC cadets from drilling with nonfunctional dummy rifles. A board member, unable to distinguish soldiers from cheerleaders, suggested they drill with batons. A student objected, "The reason for having color guards carry rifles is to honor those who died for the flag."

When I took ROTC in the 1950s, we drilled with army rifles with the firing pins removed and were taught gun safety and marksmanship with working .22 rifles at a shooting range in our high school basement. In my 12 years in urban public schools, there were no shootings.

Perhaps we formed a different idea of manhood by receiving our first gun from a sergeant with combat ribbons on his chest, rather than from a gang member. Boys no longer learn honor from veteran sergeants and are less likely to learn ethics from parents, teachers, or clergy.

I wonder whether anyone can explain why we rear our children to be "tolerant" of all forms of behavior, yet to have "zero tolerance" for objects and actions that are not intrinsically harmful.

—**David Stolinsky** *practices medicine in Los Angeles.*

SEPARATION OF MUSEUM AND STATE

The Jewish organization Toward Tradition has called for the federal government not to fund the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum, which currently receives 60 percent of its budget from the government and is run by a presidentially appointed Council that, Toward Tradition charges, has allowed it "to depart from its original mission of documenting the Holocaust."

Improprieties cited by Toward Tradition include: showing a film "that blames Nazism on Christianity—a libelous distortion"; trying to appoint as director of its Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies a scholar who compared President Reagan's election to the rise of Nazism; sponsoring a panel that accused the CIA of "genocide"; and celebrating a book that charged Israel with "ethnic cleansing."

In addition, the chairman of the museum's Council, Rabbi Irving Greenberg, wrote President Clinton on official stationery urging him to pardon accused tax cheat Marc Rich, saying it would be "one of the most Godlike actions that anyone could ever do." The *Jewish Forward* notes that a philanthropy linked to Rabbi Greenberg received $5 million from the same Mr. Rich.

Toward Tradition's president, Rabbi Daniel Lapin, questions why "tax dollars should go to support such a foolish institution."

SELLING SOCIAL SECURITY REFORM

Pollsters at a recent Cato Institute conference debated the question, What will it take to get Congress to enact sensible reforms of Social Security?

Some polls appear to show support for the status quo. In 1997, for example, Democratic pollster Peter Hart asked people whether they would prefer to "fix Social Security by strengthening its financial condition" or "replace Social Security by allowing people to invest their Social Security contributions in the stock market, so people can manage their own investments." His respondents favored "fixing" Social Security by 67 to 28 percent.

Republican pollster Bill McInturff tested this question by rewriting it slightly. When he changed the privatization part to ask if Congress should "*expand* Social Security by allowing people to invest their Social Security contributions in stock market *mutual funds*, so that people can *control* their own investments," privatization still lost, but only by a 52 to 42 percent margin. And when he spelled out a "fix" of the existing program as requiring a "small payroll tax increase and slight reduction in benefits," privatization was suddenly favored by 59 to 30 percent.

McInturff said voters like Social Security reform when it's presented as a way to offer taxpayers choices. Taxpayers also like privatization when they understand that competing calls to "strengthen Social Security" really mean higher taxes and lower benefits.

But McInturff warned Republicans not to take Social Security money away from seniors. Since seniors vote in off-year elections and younger people tend not to, this could lead to Republicans' getting hammered in the 2002 elections. Far better to use the government's general fund surplus to pay for privatization. "Say that new money comes out of the surplus to pay for new accounts," McInturff advised, "and you totally eradicate the Democrats' argument."

Pollster Scott Rasmussen suggested telling young people "what the reform means to them." He recounted a 30-year-old employee of his who learned that the total amount she had paid in Social Security taxes equaled the money she needed to make a down payment on her first home. "That made her really mad."

He also urged reformers to "be honest about risk." Most workers know that investing their pensions in the market carries some. "What we also know is that there is a risk that the federal government won't honor its commitments," and that younger workers will see little of the money they paid in Social Security taxes.

Michael Barone of *U.S. News & World Report*, a former pollster, noted that in 1990 only 21 percent of Americans owned stock; today, a majority do. Since most Americans are engaged in a "lifetime project of building wealth," they are now comfortable with using the market to ensure a comfortable retirement.

"The 'fact' that advocating Social Security reform will ultimately kill you" politically, said Barone, "should have been extinguished by the 2000 elections"—in which George W. Bush won despite countless scary ads about Social Security.

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Forward Observer

James Glassman

Stocks Still Look Good

Two years ago my AEI colleague Kevin Hassett and I wrote *Dow 36,000*. Despite its flamboyant title, the book was a serious attempt at formulating a new model for valuing stocks, one that would explain the incredible rise in prices from a Dow Jones average of 777 in August 1982, to 9,324 in March 1999.

But something happened on our way to the Nobel Prize: The stock market fell sharply right after the book was finished. It recovered impressively in the fourth quarter of 1999 and kept flying through March of last year. Then the technology-heavy NASDAQ Composite index collapsed, losing half its value by December. Also in 2000, the broader S&P 500 fell 9 percent, and the Dow, after accounting for dividends, dropped 5 percent—its first loss in 10 years. (As I write, the Dow is up a bit.)

So, has the stock market changed? Have Kevin and I changed our minds?

The answer to both questions is "no."

Our book generated controversy because it challenged the conventional wisdom on how to value stocks—the notion that there are "ceilings" and "floors" beyond which market prices can't go for long. That challenge stands. The old model can't explain what has happened over the past two decades; ours can, and still does.

The best-known valuation ceiling is the price-to-earnings (or P/E) ratio: the number of dollars it costs to buy a dollar's worth of a company's annual after-tax profits. Analysts have long believed the P/E ceiling was about 15, but Kevin and I paid little attention to P/Es. We were concerned with something more important: the cash investors can put in their pockets, either immediately through dividends or in the future through the piling up of a company's "undistributed operating earnings"—the phrase super-investor Warren Buffett uses for a firm's free cash, available to shareholders rather than required to run the business.

Economists have long puzzled: Why do stocks return so much more than other investments (an average of 12 percent a year) when research clearly shows that stocks, if held for the long term, are no more risky than Treasury bonds, with average returns far lower? Stocks somehow carry a hefty "risk premium" —that is, a higher return to investors to compensate for their perceived riskiness.

Stocks are indeed very risky in the short term, but not in the long run, so economists attribute the premium to investors' irrational fear. Our book argued that, starting in the 1980s, investors became more savvy about stocks' lack of riskiness and thus bid them up beyond levels anyone expected.

As Gregory Mankiw wrote in *Fortune*: "Perhaps investors, gradually learning that stocks are a terrific investment, are shrinking the risk premium toward where it should be, and bidding stocks higher."

We said this process of shrinking the premium would be complete when the Dow reached 36,000. How long would it take? "Impossible to predict," we wrote.

We also told readers that certain stocks would benefit during this period. Not surprisingly, we liked companies with long track records of solid earnings, sound balance sheets, "moats" like patents and powerful brand names to keep out competitors, and the possiblity of decent growth for another 50 years or more. We highlighted 15 stocks, among them Automatic Data Processing, Johnson & Johnson, Cintas, Microsoft, and our favorite, Tootsie Roll Industries. From the date our book appeared, September 1, 1999, through December 31, 2000, the 15 stocks rose an average of 12.3 percent, compared with a slight loss for the market as a whole. Tootsie Roll jumped 44 percent.

Still, our critics gloated at the market's poor performance in 2000. Why did stocks drop? I see three reasons: (1) the Federal Reserve Board's interest rate increases between summer 1999 and summer 2000, (2) the tripling of oil prices, and (3) the sudden intervention of government into the high-tech sector, symbolized by the Justice Department's effort to break up Microsoft. These factors led to an economic slowdown in the latter part of the year, foreshadowed (as usual) by the market in the earlier part.

What about the tech stock "bubble"? Certainly, the prices of companies with no earnings, like Priceline or TheStreet.com, appeared to have lost touch with business fundamentals last year. We warned readers against such stocks . But really, the tech sector's 40 percent decline last year was not so unusual—for a sector. In the short term investors get carried away, in both directions, and individual sectors and stocks are highly volatile over short periods.

As we wrote, stocks "will not go straight up. They never do. There will be dips, possibly even brief bear markets, along the way." As for investors themselves, it is still possible they will go back to their irrational ways. The risk premium has fallen by about half since 1982, but scared investors could bid it back up.

One economist who doubts stock values will fall back permanently is Fed chairman Alan Greenspan: "Because knowledge gained is irreversible, so too are the lowered risk premiums." Kevin and I agree. We had a chance to revise the paperback version of the book when it appeared earlier this year. We didn't change a word.

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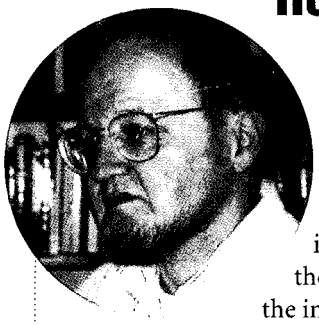
two Views

PRESIDENT BUSH WANTS TO DOUBLE THE CHILD TAX CREDIT. LIBERALS WOULD RATHER SPEND THE MONEY ON DAY CARE. SOME CONSERVATIVES WOULD RATHER USE IT FOR TAX CUTS THAT STIMULATE THE ECONOMY.

How to Help Childraising Families Prosper?



Charles Siegel

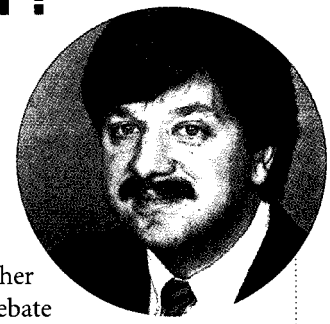
The dramatic growth of day care in recent decades is the final step in a long process of modernizing away the family. In the nineteenth century, the industrial revolution moved men's work out of the home and into offices and factories. In the twentieth century, most women's work also moved out of the home. Not only childcare and homemaking, but also community projects that relied on female labor—like charitable, educational, and local anti-poverty efforts—were taken over by corporations or government.

Progressive social reformers argued that this modernization was inevitable: The money economy would ultimately take over all the responsibilities of the family; so our only choice was to spend more money on day care. Thanks to their efforts, we adopted social policies that give the "inevitable" plenty of help. Government and corporations now subsidize day care, rather than helping parents to care for their own children. For example, the federal child-care tax credit goes only to families who pay others to care for their children. It ignores families who reduce their income to raise their own children. Half of these credits go to the wealthiest 30 percent of families; only 3 percent go to the poorest 30 percent of families.

TODAY'S CHILD-CARE TAX CREDIT IGNORES FAMILIES WHO RAISE THEIR OWN CHILDREN.

Is it inevitable that the modern economy will take over child care, as it has taken over other work of the family? In reality families should have ample time to care for their children, thanks to another shift everyone considered inevitable: the trend toward shorter work hours.

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, work hours declined dramatically from the traditional six-day, 72-hour work week. Then this "inevitable" trend suddenly stopped. During the Depression, the 40-hour work week was established. During the postwar period, corporations stepped up their advertising. The federal government built freeways, promoted suburbanization, and stimulated demand. Thanks to these policies, the long trend toward shorter work hours stopped dead during the prosperous



William R. Mattox, Jr.

If George W. Bush wants to know what he ought to do about day care, all he has to do is ask Dad.

That's right, W. should have his father tell him about the Great Child Care Debate of the first Bush administration—arguably the senior Bush's finest domestic policy hour. Many lessons from that battle are directly applicable to today's debate.

In the late 1980s, day care activists sought to persuade policymakers that a vast new government program was needed to address problems in the quality, affordability, and availability of day care. These advocates had every reason to expect success: More young mothers were employed than ever before. The quality of day care was widely recognized as substandard. And economic pressures on young families made substitute care hard to afford.

Day care proponents expected Republicans to either oppose their bill outright or offer a scaled-down version. Either way, conservatives would look hard-hearted, and liberals would get their new program.

But George Bush outfoxed them. Instead of a new federal day care bureaucracy, he proposed giving all families with young children a $1,000 tax credit per child, which could pay for substitute care or, if the family preferred, offset the wages lost when parents care for their own children. This "inclusive" plan was quite popular. Day care users liked the way it permitted "parental choice" instead of forcing a one-size-fits-all solution. And families interesting in minding their own small children appreciated the plan's inclusion of at-home parents.

This, it turns out, was important.For even though the number of mothers working rose significantly in the 1970s and '80s, most mothers were still trying to find a way, by working part time or from home, to keep child care "all in the family." In fact, three-fourths of all preschool-aged kids were being primarily cared for by Mom, Dad, Grandma, or some other close relative. And polls showed most Americans wanted to keep it that way.

In the end, Bush got the Democratic Congress to pass a child care bill that provided major tax relief for families with children. George Miller, the Democratic Congressman who steered much of the debate, later confessed to *Mother Jones* that ordinary parents never warmed to his party's Big Government Child Care

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***SIEGEL** continued*

1950s and '60s. And work hours have increased since the 1970s.

We have done such a good job of stimulating the economy that work has crowded out the family. Parents spent 40 percent less time with their children in the 1990s than in the '60s.

To put our need for day care in perspective, we should try to imagine what Americans living in 1920 would have thought if they heard that most American families today can afford two cars but cannot afford to take care of their own pre-school children! Americans are more than four times as wealthy today as in 1920, but most people feel they are so economically pressed that they lack the family time that Americans took for granted in 1920.

A few decades ago, the typical American family was supported by a man working a 40-hour week. Today, the typical family is supported by a couple working an 80-hour week. Families are overworked because they are overspent. For example, the average American drives twice as much today as in 1970, and the average new home is 50 percent larger than in 1970. Are we better off with bigger homes and no time to spend together in them?

Two reforms could make it easier for parents to downshift economically and spend more time with their own children. First, we should give people more choice of work hours by providing good part-time jobs. We need incentives for businesses to create flexible part-time jobs with pay, benefits, and chances of promotion equivalent to full-time jobs. The Netherlands has started doing this, and over 35 percent of all workers are now part-timers; so movement in this direction is possible.

Second, we should provide fair funding for child care, rather than discriminating against families who look after their own children. We need a larger child-care tax credit that is available both to families who provide their own preschool care and to families who use paid day care. Child care advocates demand the federal government provide universal preschool, but spending an equivalent amount of money on a non-discriminatory tax credit would let most families comfortably care for their own children

Together, these two changes would make it easier for people to devote themselves to their families. Polls suggest 65 to 80 percent of Americans would use these options.

There are social limits to our pursuit of economic growth. We are reaching a point where an unbalanced pursuit of prosperity is creating unacceptable social and psychological costs. American society has become more impersonal and unstable. Violence, depression, drug abuse, family breakdown, and a decline of civil society are linked to weak oversight of children during childhood.

These trends are not inevitable. They have happened because we made deliberate choices to stimulate the economy, without thinking about the human costs. It is time to restore the balance between economic growth and the family.

Former househusband Charles Siegel is the author of What's Wrong with Day Care?

***MATTOX** continued*

ideas. "There was never a child care movement in the country," he conceded. "There was a coalition of child-advocacy groups, and a few large international unions that put in hundreds of thousands of dollars, and we created in the mind of the leadership of Congress that there was a child care movement—but there was nobody riding me."

Interestingly, child care practices have changed very little over the last decade. And contrary to what editorialists at big-city newspapers think, most American families still choose parental care for their youngest children. According to the Census Bureau:

- 50 percent of all children under five are cared for by a non-employed mother at home.
- 3 percent have "double-time" mothers who look after a neighbor's child or otherwise earn money while caring for their own children.
- 8 percent have "tag-team" parents who split child care responsibilities (usually by having Mom work evenings or weekends when Dad is home to care for Junior).
- 14 percent are primarily cared for by Grandma or some other close relative.

ONLY A QUARTER OF ALL YOUNG CHILDREN ARE IN HIRED CARE.

The rest of the children are in non-familial care: 2 percent have nannies, 8 percent are cared for by a neighbor, family friend, or some other home-based provider, and 15 percent are in some form of center-based care.

Public attitudes about day care have also changed little. A recent poll found only 6 percent of parents see "quality" day care as the best arrangement (70 percent say parental care is best). A survey by *Parents* found 77 percent of all moms wish they could forego employment entirely to be home with the kids. And a *Los Angeles Times* poll found 69 percent of California parents believe a single-paycheck family is best for kids. These statistics suggest that, despite years of propaganda touting "professional" care, many parents believe no one can be expected to do for pay what a mother does for love.

This doesn't mean it's easy for parents to be home with their kids, or to find the kind of flexible employment that enables them to organize work around their family responsibilities. It does mean that the most important provision in George W. Bush's new tax plan may be the one that has generated the least discussion. For if Bush succeeds in doubling the $500 per-child tax credit to the $1,000 level his father originally proposed, Dubya will not only be building upon his father's legacy, he will be giving more young children an opportunity to learn the lesson he was first taught on his mother's lap: Compassionate conservatism begins at home.

William R. Mattox, Jr. is on the board of contributors at USA Today.

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THEY'RE ONE OF WASHINGTON'S MOST ACCOMPLISHED AND VISIBLE POLITICAL COUPLES. YET, AMIDST THE WHIRL, THEY'VE MANAGED TO CARVE OUT BALANCED LIVES AND A DEVOTED MARRIAGE. MEET THE REAL PEOPLE MOVING INTO THE VICE PRESIDENT'S MANSION.

Dick & Lynne Cheney

Dick and Lynne Cheney began dating at Natrona County High in Casper, Wyoming, where she was the homecoming queen and he the football team co-captain. Lynne was an outstanding student, and Dick was good enough to win a full scholarship to Yale.

While his wife-to-be streaked through college and graduate school, Dick Cheney dropped out of college and went to work installing powerlines across the West. To win his girl, though, he soon went back to school, where he shone—completing most of a doctoral degree before being wooed into politics.

Dick Cheney's first patron in Washington was Donald Rumsfeld, whom he succeeded as Ford White House chief of staff at the tender age of 34. Cheney then went on to six terms as a congressman from Wyoming. George Bush the elder named him Secretary of Defense in 1989, where he won fame for his role in the Gulf War (while continuing to do the family shopping and errands each week). Cheney next entered the private sector to run the Halliburton corporation, an oil giant. Then he was named George W. Bush's running mate.

Meanwhile, wife Lynne was teaching college English, working as a magazine editor, writing or co-authoring five books of fiction and non-fiction (including one with her husband), co-hosting CNN's "Crossfire Sunday," and serving an unprecedented two terms as chair of the National Endowment for the Humanities during the Reagan administration. Mrs. Cheney will set another precedent by continuing her work as an author, from her position at the American Enterprise Institute, while serving as Second Lady.

TAE senior editor Scott Walter caught up with the busy couple at their home in McLean, Virginia.

TAE: Mrs. Cheney, the essayist Florence King once wrote that when she sees your husband on TV, she starts to smell witch hazel and thinks of her father shaving in front of the mirror in the 1950s. Why do you think your husband gives people this impression of paternal solidity and very unpolitician-like dependability?

LYNNE: In part I think it's Dick's low-key demeanor. In part it's because he knows a lot. Colin Powell said it once: "He doesn't show a lot of surface."

DICK: "Never let 'em see you sweat." There's a certain reserve, and it's related to where and when I grew up.

LYNNE: It makes people feel secure.

TAE: When you come home at night, do you talk politics?

LYNNE: We talk about people mostly: Who did you see and what did that person say? We don't talk about policy very much.

DICK: Occasionally we will. Our talk tends to focus on people—some speech somebody's made or something somebody's doing.

LYNNE: We talk about our kids and grandchildren an enormous amount. The silly little thing Katie did—Katie, who's six, looked up at the Capitol and said, "That's where grandpa got swelled in." (Laughter) We think it had something to do with the rain.

TAE: Do you share hobbies or interests?

DICK: I'm an avid fly fisherman and hunter, and Lynne doesn't do either one except on very rare occasions.

LYNNE: The last time we went fishing, I hooked Dick in the ear. He always invites me, but—

DICK: She knows the answer's no—

LYNNE: No, I don't know that. You're very nice if I want to go. We just go in different directions.

DICK: Yes. We have very different hobbies. Lynne reads a lot. I read too, but Lynne reads a lot more.

LYNNE: And I absolutely love getting hold of blueprints for a house and thinking where the walls should be and where the furniture should go. Before Dick decided to run for Vice Presi-

It would make me feel very good if George Bush is one of the most successful Presidents in our history.

Illustration by Lucinda S. Levine

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dent, I was spending a lot of time worrying about a house we were planning to build. Since the election I've been focusing on the Vice President's house, having an enormous amount of fun looking at the blueprints and figuring out what goes where and looking at art that will go in the house.This is a project from which I have zero interference from Dick.

DICK: I want to make sure I've got my chair, but aside from that it's Lynne's project.

TAE: As an avid sportsman, do you have any trouble living in an urban place like Washington?

DICK: Not really. If you're seriously interested in fishing, for example, you don't have to go far here to find it. I've got a friend who's a member of a club in southern Pennsylvania, just outside Gettysburg. I've fished up there for years. It's got a great small stream and a lot of browns and brook trout. There's great duck and geese hunting over on the Eastern Shore. You can go out here on the Potomac, upstream above the falls, and fish for small-mouth bass, all the way up to the Shenandoah. If you're an avid sportsman, you can find the opportunity in just about any region of the country.

TAE: In high school you were both involved in football, as a cheerleader and as a player. Do you two still have any interest in football?

LYNNE: I was not a cheerleader; I was a baton twirler. There's a large difference.

DICK: The *lead* baton twirler.

LYNNE: I never watch football.

TAE: Are sports just for fun, or can they play a role in developing the hard, martial virtues?

DICK: I wouldn't want it to become all-consuming, but there's clearly a place for athletics in a well-rounded life.

LYNNE: We go to Katie's soccer games. Elizabeth, the three-year-old, is just starting to play soccer, and it's fun to watch the little girls play.

I think learning to be competitive is a good thing. Back in the 1950s women didn't play sports; so baton twirling was the next best thing. You could try to be better than the next person and enter contests.

I think the move today towards women's athletics has been terrific. Both our daughters are good athletes. Elizabeth, the older daughter, is a terrific downhill skier. Mary is a terrific snowboarder and plays ice hockey.

So we've certainly encouraged them. Sports are good for women because it teaches you how to play hurt. Women sometimes think if you get knocked down, either literally or figuratively, you go into your room and cry. But what you learn in sports is that if you get knocked down, get back up and try to get that ball in the net the next time.

TAE: Do you attend church together?

LYNNE: When we go we do. We are Methodists but have been going to St. John's Church here in McLean, which is Episcopalian, with our daughter. In Jackson, there's not a Methodist church. So we've been going to the Episcopalian church in Jackson.

TAE: You co-authored a book, *Kings of the Hill*, a history of the Speakers of the House of Representatives. What was it like to write a book together?

LYNNE: It was a dark chapter in our marriage. (Laughter)

DICK: We joke about it. I was approached by a publisher to write a book. I said it's got to be about Speakers of the House. I had just read a chapter in Barbara Tuchman's *The Proud Tower* that was devoted to Speaker Thomas Reed of Maine.

LYNNE: You read it on an airplane, remember? I was sitting next to you, you passed it to me, and then we were both trying to read it at the same time because it was so compelling.

DICK: The other condition I laid down was the book had to be a joint project because Lynne is an author. She'd been published, and I hadn't. I also knew who was going to write the book. (Laughter) So Lynne did most of the work, and the writing. Occasionally, I was allowed to edit—

LYNNE: This was the problem: I was the writer, and he was the expert—

DICK: I was the Congressman, and it was about the Congress; so I had some legitimate claim—

LYNNE: —but I didn't like it much when he criticized my paragraphs, and he did not take too kindly to my criticizing his political analysis.

DICK: That's right. We will never do it again.

TAE: Can you tell us how your courtship began?

DICK: I arrived in Casper, Wyoming, in the eighth grade. My dad had been transferred there from Nebraska, and he worked for the Soil Conservation Service. Lynn's dad worked for the Bureau of Reclamation.

LYNNE: They were both GS-13s on the government payscale. Our families are very much alike.

DICK: But Lynne, well, she didn't pay any attention to me until I was 16.

LYNNE: It took you a while to get cool. (Laughter)

DICK: Around my seventeenth birthday she finally agreed to go out with me, and we've been a regular item ever since.

LYNNE: Even in high school, Dick was completely his own person. In Casper, we thought the greatest social event possible was driving: There were A&W root beer stands at opposite ends of town, and so the big thing to do was to drive between one and the other endlessly. Dick did not see the point. It took me a while to understand he was a worthwhile escort to the prom, even though he wouldn't drive endlessly between the A&Ws.

TAE: Were you both good students?

DICK: Lynne was a much better student than I.

LYNNE: Dick got As, too. He just didn't work hard.

DICK: Lynne was the star pupil in the school.

LYNNE: That's not true.

DICK: It is true.

LYNNE: You were in the National Honor Society, weren't you?

DICK: I don't think so.

LYNNE: Oh.

DICK: I did respectably in high school, and then in college I ran into considerable difficulties, as Tom Brokaw broadcast during the Inaugural. (Laughter) I've got to talk to Tom about that.

LYNNE: Just after Dick took the oath and was sworn in, Tom Brokaw said, "He flunked out of Yale twice."

DICK: I had been recruited by the local recruiter to go to Yale, who's still a good friend. I got a full ride; they paid for every-

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thing. But after about a year and a half they said, "Why don't you take a year off." So I left, and then went back again for another semester, and they said, "Maybe we better part company here permanently."

I worked on power lines for a couple of years, and then started back at school. So when we got married, even though I was a little older than Lynne, she already had her B.A. and master's and was an English instructor at the University of Wyoming. I was still an undergraduate. Eventually I caught up—almost.

TAE: Would you recommend a person get real-world experience before going on to college?

DICK: I think it depends totally on the individual. I'm reluctant to give other people advice. But certainly if you were to look at my career path in those days, there wasn't anything there to indicate I might some day be successful.

There are lots of valuable experiences in life besides formal education, but formal education is very important, and I wouldn't discourage anybody from doing that. But you clearly learn a lot from work, and there are a few of us who have succeeded—like Bill Gates, who left Harvard early—even though we didn't follow the normal path.

LYNNE: In the United States you always get a second chance, sometimes a third or fourth. In other countries, if you don't go lockstep through the prescribed educational system, it's difficult to find another path. That's a great thing about this country.

DICK: Yes, it's an open society—for most people. And a meritocracy. One of the great struggles in American history has been making certain it's an open society for everybody, because it has not always been, and isn't today for everyone. But it's better than anyplace else in that regard.

Some people start with advantages others don't have. That's life. Some of us are fortunate in other ways, with people who help us along the way. When I think back about my own career, an awful lot of it focuses upon the tremendous number of people who gave me a hand when I needed it. Not that I was desperate or anything, but those relationships were as important as anything else, and they happened to a kid from Casper, Wyoming, whose dad was a civil servant and who started out with a spotty academic career at best. I could still get ahead in the world.

TAE: What ties do you still have to Wyoming?

DICK: We've still got a lot of friends there. We own a home in Jackson, where we go when we want to get away from it all. We'll spend a lot more time there once we're no longer both working full time. Lynne's got family there, her brother and sister-in-law.

LYNNE: And cousins.

DICK: My dad passed away about 18 months ago. He was still living in our old hometown of Casper. I heard today from Joe Meyer. We went to high school together. He dated Lynne at one time. He was a roommate one year in college. We played football together. He was later attorney general; now he's getting ready to run for governor. The current congressional delegation are good friends; I had lunch with Senator Mike Enzi yesterday.

Wyoming will always be home. We spend as much time there as we can.

TAE: What sort of man was your father?

DICK: Our daughter just gave me for my birthday a map of where my great-grandfather served in the Civil War. He served with the Ohio Regiment in the Civil War and afterwards went west to Nebraska in the 1880s. Dad was born and grew up in a very small town in Nebraska, about 200 people.

His father was a cashier, the only employee in a small-town bank that went belly up during the Depression. His mother was a school teacher. They married late in life. His dad had been married previously and lost his first wife, and so I knew my grandfather, but barely.

During World War II, while Dad was in the Navy, my mother and brother and I went home and lived with my grandparents in a small town in Nebraska. It's one of my earliest memories.

Dad had to leave college to go to work during the Depression because the family needed the money. He worked first with the Veterans Administration for about 90 days and then the Soil Conservation Service back in the '30s. He left for two years, served in the Navy during the war, and then went back for 37 years of federal service. Retired in the mid-1970s.

I'm described as a lot like him in terms of being someone who doesn't talk a lot, who's not very emotional. He was just rock solid, salt of the earth.

LYNNE: He made Dick look chatty. (Laughter)

DICK: Both my parents grew up in small towns in Nebraska. In terms of values, they were both part of that Depression-era, World War II generation.

After the war we moved back to Nebraska, to Lincoln. Moved into tract housing that was built in about 1946, I guess. We lived in the basement of another house, with a family. It was a period when everybody in the neighborhood was just back from military service.

LYNNE: One of the stories about Dick that I like is that when you first moved to Wyoming, you didn't have any friends because you didn't know anybody. So you just went down to the library and started reading history.

DICK: Right. I did two things that summer when I was 13. You wouldn't speak to me. (Laughter) Actually, I didn't meet her until later.

We arrived in Wyoming that summer, and I signed up for baseball and then spent the summer in the library and started working my way through World War II histories. Read a lot of military history in those years.

LYNNE: It was a Carnegie library, one of those great contributions philanthropists have made. I used to go to the library and read my way through the alphabet. I'm not saying I read every book in the library, but I'd go down the *A*s, and anything I'd ever slightly heard of I would read. This was quite a way to discover *Ulysses*. (Laughter)

TAE: Do you both still think of yourselves as Westerners?

LYNNE: For sure.

DICK: Sure. We talked about this during the campaign. Westerners have a strong sense of self-reliance. You're respectful of other people's space and their privacy. You don't ask personal questions. Those are some of the things we think of as Western virtues.

Also, I don't know if this would be true for someone growing up today, but it was a shock for me to move east from Wyoming. I

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could go up on the mountains outside of Casper, which are maybe 8,000 feet high—a big hill by Wyoming standards—and see a hundred miles in the distance. There was this tremendous sense of openness and space and huge horizons—big sky country.

Going East for the first time—to Connecticut, New York, places where there were trees and buildings and people—you just felt hemmed in, crowded. There were just too many things. There wasn't any place where you could go and see for 50 or 60 miles. Those kinds of things affect people's personalities, your culture, the way you interact with other people and look at life.

LYNNE: Isn't it in *Across the Wide Missouri* that Bernard De Voto writes about the people going West, and along about…what, Scott's Bluff?—

DICK: Chimney Rock, as I recall.

LYNNE: —Chimney Rock people would start going mad. They couldn't stand the openness, this feeling of vulnerability and being unprotected. So geography has this peculiar effect.

DICK: In those days, and we're talking the 1840s and '50s, obviously, people didn't pop back and forth. If you went West, you went West for life. It was a months-long experience. Now we take it for granted that you can today be in New York, tomorrow in Casper. But even 50 years ago, when I first went East, there was a dramatic change.

TAE: With the 50-50 tie in the Senate, you are likely to have an active role there. At one point in your career you wondered what it would be like to be Speaker of the House. Are you looking forward to being a different sort of King of the Hill?

DICK: The other day at the House Republicans' retreat I told them, "You know, when I was a member of the House, my highest aspiration was to someday preside over the House, and unfortunately I have to settle for second best and preside over the Senate." (Laughter) The Senate's a very different institution, but it is absolutely fascinating. I'm trying now, as quickly as possible, to learn the traditions and the rules of the Senate and do the right things as the presiding officer. A lot of the members are people I served with in the House—Trent Lott and so forth.

TAE: Only a year ago you were a business executive in Dallas. You don't show any signs of cultural whiplash, but you must feel something like that once in a while?

DICK: No, I think there's probably a bigger change going the other way, going from a 25-year career in politics to the private sector.

TAE: Did running a business teach you anything new about the American economy?

DICK: Yes, it clearly did. I started out already as somebody who's a strong advocate of free markets. But that's a philosophy. When you go over and become the chairman and CEO of a major corporation, all of a sudden it's not just some esoteric theory any more. It's real day-in and day-out decision-making, developing a strategy, being measured by a fairly tough standard.

In the business world, you've got to produce those financial results every quarter. If you don't, penalties are paid in the form of decline in your stock price, angry shareholders, and a board that's unhappy. You're measured on a consistent basis, and everybody knows what the standard is. In politics, you can have a policy train wreck and claim it was a great victory, and then we argue about whether it was a victory or a failure. That's not really possible in the private sector. In politics, if you're a Senator, you get measured every six years at the polls; a Congressman, every two years. In the business world, it's much more immediate than that.

TAE: Mrs. Cheney, what is your main work going to be over the next few years?

LYNNE: I'm writing a book about why education reform has historically proven to be so difficult. I hope I'll be able to call attention to some of the good things that are going on in our society. And I look forward to following Dick around too. When Dick first decided he wanted to run, I thought it was like jumping off a cliff, and I guess it kind of was. But now that we've come through the rapids and survived, it looks to be a lot of fun.

TAE: Your last book dealt with political correctness. Some people have recently argued that political correctness, relativism, and radical multiculturalism have crested in academe. True?

LYNNE: Well, I haven't been worrying about colleges so much recently; I've been worried more about K-12 education, where a kind of orthodoxy prevails which makes reform difficult. It's not about political correctness so much as about how children should be taught. I think teaching should be very active. All of us should be concerned with passing along knowledge and skills to the next generation. But the prevailing philosophy in schools of education is that children have to discover knowledge for themselves. They have to be in charge of their own learning. That is the rock on which a lot of education reform is foundering.

TAE: Last night you both heard Clarence Thomas's speech to the American Enterprise Institute [see page 44]. He argued that political orthodoxies are now enforced with intimidation. Do you agree?

DICK: Yes, I thought it was a great speech, especially coming from him. If there's anybody who's been attacked and maligned over the years because of his views, it's Clarence. He did an eloquent job of describing a real problem. Oftentimes in this town, and I think it's gotten worse in recent years, there is a tendency to launch personal attacks, to charge people with being racist, for example, because they disagree with certain policy views. Clarence urged people not to be frightened by those kinds of attacks if they've got something to contribute to the debate.

TAE: Did you see Maureen Dowd's column attacking Thomas in this morning's *New York Times*?

DICK: I thought Maureen was out to lunch, as she frequently is.

LYNNE: Oh, Dick!

DICK: I'm sorry. (Laughter)

LYNNE: That was off the record.

DICK: No, it wasn't.

TAE: She put Clarence Thomas on a moral par with Bill Clinton.

DICK: Yes, I think she epitomized exactly what Clarence was talking about. He wasn't offering anything out of self-pity. His speech was a thoughtful, elegant statement of a very important problem, and Maureen Dowd's part of the problem.

TAE: What one thing would you most like to be able to look back on when you leave this office and say, "We did that"?

DICK: Well, that George Bush will have been one of the most successful Presidents in our history. That would make me feel very good.

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New Weapon For A New World Order

How missile defense makes the entire globe safer

By Richard Perle

The question is not *whether* a ballistic missile with a nuclear or chemical or biological warhead capable of killing hundreds of thousands of Americans will wind up in the hands of a hostile power. The question is *when.*

Pinpointing the exact date is a game played by intelligence agencies, rather like an office pool on the outcome of the Super Bowl. In the Super Bowl, though, you at least know who the players are. When it comes to the acquisition of a ballistic missile or a nuclear warhead, there is no sure way of telling.

That is why it is so urgent we begin now to build a system capable of intercepting the missile that we know is coming. The argument for getting on with it is overwhelming. The arguments against are unconvincing—and drawn mostly from ideas that developed during the Cold War but have been rendered irrelevant by its end.

The best argument in favor of building a missile defense system is a moral one: It will save lives, in large numbers, in other countries as well as our own. It will discourage the proliferation of missiles and warheads of mass destruction. It will make the world stabler and safer.

Consider the following scenario, for example. Imagine a sharp rise in tension between traditional adversaries India and Pakistan, both of which have nuclear weapons and ballistic missiles. Suppose the United States Navy could dispatch an Aegis cruiser to the region with instructions to intercept any ballistic missile fired by either side. Such a capability in American hands would be highly stabilizing, discouraging hair-trigger missile attacks, reducing the likelihood of conflict breaking out in the first place, reassuring both sides.

Nations like Iran, Iraq, and North Korea are trying to acquire long-range missiles. They believe that possessing even a single missile will catapult them into a select class of powers, gaining great leverage because they will be capable of inflicting massive damage on the United States or its friends and allies. And given time and money, these countries *can* reasonably hope to possess a single missile, or even several.

But suppose we constructed a defense that could intercept all the warheads and decoys carried by 100 or 200 enemy missiles. A Saddam Hussein in Iraq or a Kim Jong Il in North Korea would lose any confidence he could land a missile on New York or Chicago or an allied capital. The relatively easy task of acquiring a missile or two would become the impossible burden of acquiring hundreds.

In that case, even a determined adversary is likely to throw up his hands and conclude that enhancing his power with nuclear long-range missiles is simply too hard. Imagine a meeting of Saddam Hussein with his military advisors. The general in charge of Iraq's armored force pleads for money to buy new tanks and spare parts for old ones, while the general in charge of missile development requests billions of dollars for construction and testing of a new missile. If the United States has the ability to defend itself and its allies against 100 such missiles, how does the general in charge of the missile program answer Saddam's question, "What good is a $10 billion missile if the Americans can knock it down?"

In short, the best way to protect against missile dangers is to discourage our adversaries from investing in the missiles in the first place. There can be no more powerful disincentive than to have a shield that guarantees their hugely expensive programs will fail. It is that shield, based on our most advanced technology, that will protect America best—not the flotsam of the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty to which the opponents of missile defense cling like shipwrecked sailors.

Some Americans still treat the ABM Treaty with reverence. It remains a primary obstacle to our going forward with missile defense, so a short history lesson is needed to explain

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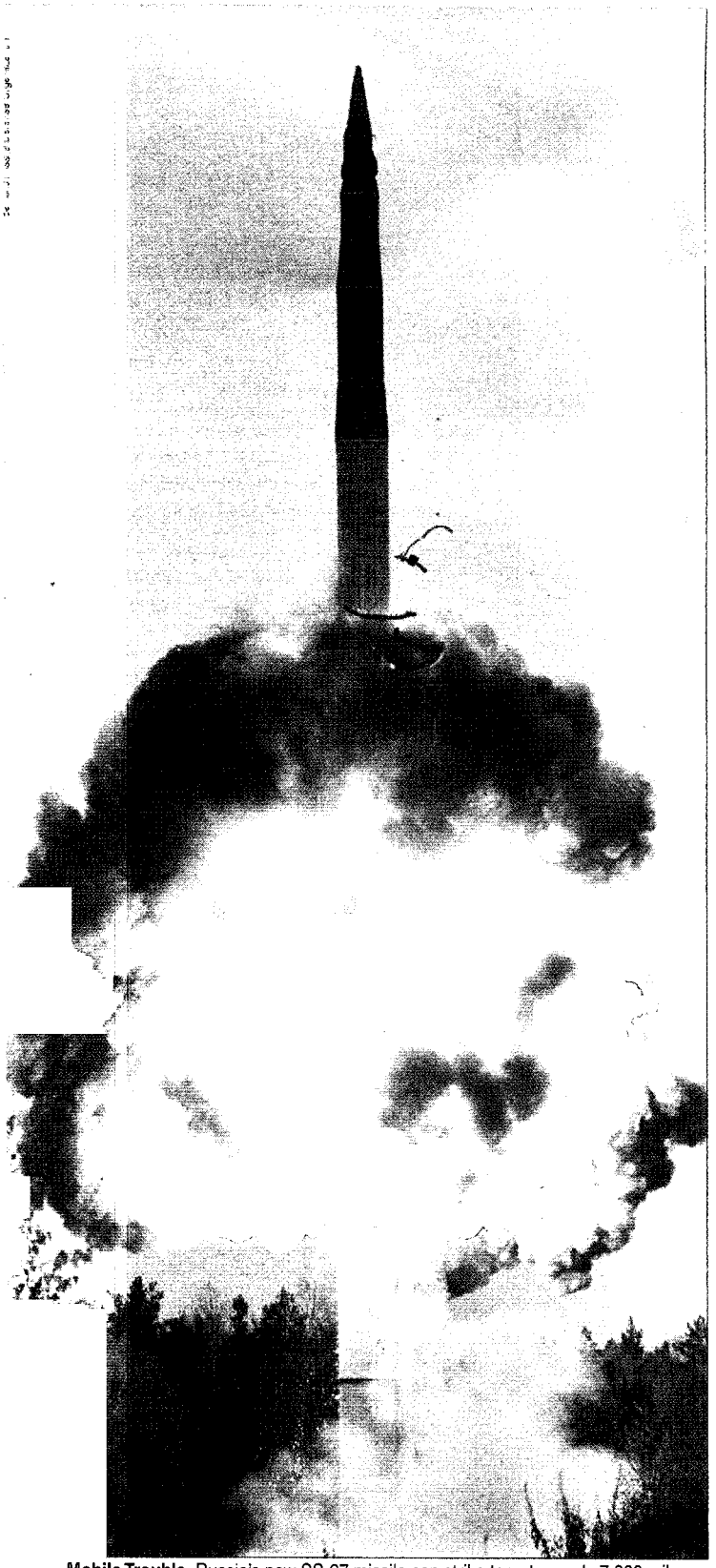

Mobile Trouble Russia's new SS-27 missile can strike targets nearly 7,000 miles away, with the potential for carrying up to seven warheads on each rocket. It can be launched from silos, or from trucks in a mobile version that would be frighteningly easy to slip across a border.

why the treaty is hopelessly obsolete.

Cold War nuclear theology held that if one side were to deploy a defense against ballistic missiles, the other side would simply build more missiles in numbers sufficient to overwhelm the defense. Thus the specter of an arms race, often described as an "ever upward spiral," became a central theme in foreign offices and ministries of defense around the world.

So, in 1972 the United States and the Soviet Union signed a treaty banning the deployment of national missile defenses. Reflecting the logic of the Cold War, the ABM Treaty sought to assure each side that the other was vulnerable to a retaliatory missile attack. Given the deep political, ideological, and military divisions between the superpowers at that time, the notion gained currency that vulnerability to a missile attack with many nuclear weapons was a good thing. This "Mutual Assured Destruction" would keep anyone from attacking and thus make us safe.

Though it prohibits the deployment of a national missile defense, the ABM Treaty does allow certain research short of deployment, as well as the actual deployment of no more than 100 interceptor missiles at a single location in each country. The Russians long ago built such a system around Moscow, which they maintain today. The United States, which abandoned its own fledgling system after the 1972 treaty, has none.

In April 1983, President Reagan announced a new program of research and development to determine whether the United States could build an effective defense against ballistic missiles. The initiative was vehemently opposed by the Soviet Union, by many American intellectuals, and by anxious Europeans. Following the 1983 announcement, a succession of Soviet leaders tried to negotiate further restrictions on the deployment of defensive systems. The most important such negotiation took place in Iceland in 1986 at a summit meeting between President Reagan and Communist Party Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev. The Reykjavik summit ended when President Reagan refused to accept Soviet proposals to confine further development of missile defenses to the laboratory, a technological straitjacket which would have throttled any serious defense in its infancy.

Because we cling to an obsolete treaty with a nation that no longer exists, the United States stands naked today before its enemies, unable to intercept even a single ballistic missile aimed, by accident or design, at our territory. Many Americans are shocked to learn that this condition of abject vulnerability is the freely chosen policy of the government of the United States and widely insisted upon by America's allies.

Frozen in the Cold War like a fly in amber, the Clinton administration's policies were based on the outdated idea that our exposure to attack by ballistic missiles actually made us safer. Clintonites argued the vulnerability that developed during the Cold War should become a permanent feature of American policy, enshrined in a trivially modified—and thereby reinvigorated—ABM Treaty.

Under political pressure in the last election year not to cede the issue of missile defense to the Republicans, President Clinton toyed with deployment of a manifestly inadequate system in Alaska that could not protect all of the U.S. or *any* of our allies. It was a system designed more to remain within the confines of the ABM Treaty than to actually defend the country. Clinton chose to develop a system so modest and ineffective as to be useless for all but political purposes.

Mired in Cold War thinking, the Clinton administration argued that a technologically serious defense, even if limited, would precipitate an arms race. The administration actually assured the Russians

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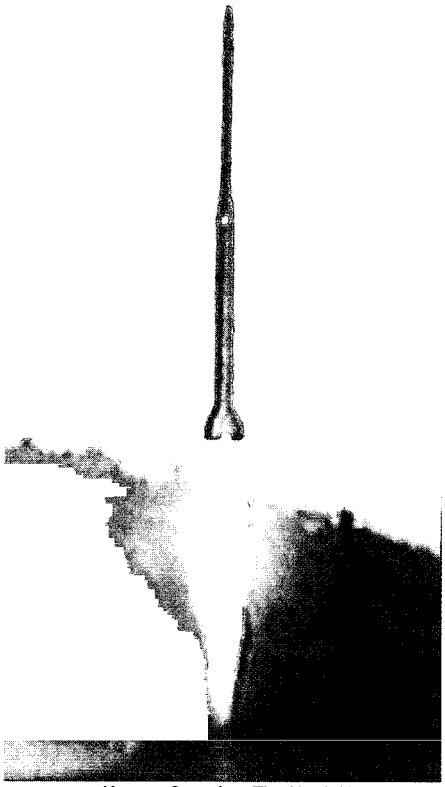
We know that a massively destructive missile is coming someday. Yet the United States stands naked, unable to intercept even a single launch.



Corbis/Bettmann

Korean Surprise The North Koreans shocked the world when they recently launched a Taepo Dong missile capable of reaching targets more than 3,000 miles away with a nuclear warhead. The North Koreans have shown a willingness to sell their wares to almost anyone, including Iran.

in meetings that even if the U.S. built an effective defense in Alaska, Russia would still be able to incinerate the United States at any time. It is hard to imagine a mind-set more reflective of the Cold War than that.

The idea that the ABM Treaty is a cornerstone of stability is especially popular among America's European allies. But it seems fair to ask: How can a treaty that was the cornerstone of stability in 1972 remain our foundation in the year 2001? After all, there is almost nothing in common between the geopolitical situation in the middle of the Cold War and the situation today. Former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, who negotiated the ABM Treaty, has argued convincingly that it no longer serves American interests. I think that argument can be broadened to include Western interests generally.

Some Europeans have claimed that Europe could become a target of convenience if an American missile defense left potential adversaries unable to attack the U.S. directly. In this scenario, a Saddam Hussein or a Kim Jong Il might think, "If I can't destroy New York, I'll just have to destroy Berlin or Paris instead." I suppose one can't rule out such a development, though it surely is not high on the list of things French President Jacques Chirac or German Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder ought to be worrying about.

The idea, though, gives rise to several thoughts. First, this bizarre concern shows that the Europeans recognize there may indeed be a threat from ballistic missiles in the hands of unpredictable, vindictive, malicious leaders. After hearing any number of learned Europeans tell us that there is no threat, or that we are overstating it, this is a welcome acknowledgment. Second, any missile defense we plan can and should cover our European allies. I believe the Bush administration will think in those terms, even if the Clinton administration did not.

In any case, what are the Europeans expecting of us? Do they think their concerns will have America responding, "Oh, how silly of us to think we should defend ourselves. If you're worried that could put you in harm's way, we'll just drop the whole idea and remain vulnerable. We certainly would not want our defense to cause you any concern."

Consider: with no missile defense, even one incoming warhead could do catastrophic harm to Los Angeles or Washington or New York. A handful would mean destruction beyond imagination. Now, suppose we were to deploy a defense capable of countering not one or a handful, but a few hundred in-

The Threat Grows Urgent

Russia. Currently has about 1,000 intercontinental ballistic missiles with 4,500 warheads. Though not presently hostile, Russia's political future is uncertain, and it continues to modernize its ballistic missiles. Russia is also a major exporter of enabling technologies to countries that are hostile to the United States, in particular Iran.

China. Now has about 20 missiles capable of reaching any part of the U.S. Several new advanced missiles close to deployment. Also possesses shorter-range missiles useable against neighbors like Taiwan, which it threatened via actual missile firings during Taiwan's 1996 elections. General Xiong Guang Kai then pointedly asked whether the U.S. would be willing to trade the destruction of Los Angeles for Taipei. China is a major proliferator of nuclear arms, having aided Iran and Pakistan in building Islamic bombs, and transferring complete ballistic missile systems to Saudi Arabia and Pakistan.

North Korea. Has demonstrated key technologies needed for a nuclear missile capable of hitting other continents. Precise status of its missile programs can't be determined, but some of its weapons may be able to reach the U.S. midwest very soon. Japan, South Korea, and nearby U.S. bases are already threatened. In addition to nuclear weapons, North Korea has the capacity to deploy chemical and biological warheads. North Koreans are major traffickers of missile technology to other countries, including Iran and Pakistan.

Iran. Has more sophisticated missile infrastructure than North Korea, with considerable help from Russia and China. Making very rapid progress in its medium-range weapons, which have been flight-tested. Has ability to demonstrate an intercontinental missile within a few years. Seeking advanced technology to produce missiles capable of striking northern U.S. from Philadelphia to St. Paul, Minnesota. Russian and North Korean aid has allowed its rapid advance. Has a nuclear weapons program, active chemical weapons production, and is researching biological weapons. The Rumsfeld Commission reported the U.S. is "unlikely to know whether Iran possesses nuclear weapons until after the fact."

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coming warheads. With such a defense, we might no longer be vulnerable to such nuclear powers as, say, Great Britain or France, which have their own deterrent forces. Would the British then feel compelled to build more nuclear weapons to overpower our defense?

Of course not. Why not? *Because they don't regard the United States as an enemy.* They don't fear an American attack. (Actually the French do fear an attack but (a) it comes from Hollywood and not the U.S. military, (b) it is truly devastating, and (c) while Chirac may think our anti-missile system won't work, I *know* his defense against American culture will fail.) In other words, it is the political context, not the weapons themselves, that determines whether, and to what extent, any particular military capability is threatening.

Now that the Cold War is over, should Russia regard us as an enemy? We are more likely to send Mr. Putin a check than a barrage of missiles with nuclear warheads. We have sought in countless ways to work with, not against, the Russians. We have muted our criticism—wrongly in my view—of Russia's outrageous assault on civilians in Chechnya. It is unimaginable that we would launch thousands of nuclear weapons against Russia and hope to benefit thereby. And that would be true even if we had a defense that could knock down every missile that might be launched in retaliation.

Would it make sense for Mr. Putin to respond to an American defense against North Korea or Saddam Hussein by building more missiles? Is the Russian economy in a condition where such a vast investment in new weapons would benefit his country? And what about China? We recently sent them an invitation into the world trading system. Should they fear an American missile attack? Or regard an American defense as a threat to China? And even if they *did* think in these terms, should we remain vulnerable to all the world just to reassure *them*?

Sometimes we hear that perceptions, not reality, are what counts: If the Russians or the Chinese perceive the United States as a threat and therefore regard any anti-missile system we may build as a danger, shouldn't the U.S. stand down?

This seems a particularly unwise line of argument. In psychiatry it would lead to humoring paranoids by accepting their paranoia and acting to accommodate baseless fears. In science it would mean the abandonment of rigor and discipline, pretending instead of proving. And in international politics it would mean nurturing rather than finding ways to correct false, dangerous, and even self-fulfilling ideas.

The final argument in favor of ballistic missile defense is an ethical one, and the most compelling: During the great clash of the Cold War, it may have been defensible to threaten to kill millions of innocents with nuclear weapons in order to deter massive Soviet attacks on the West. But it is not morally defensible now to say we will kill, say, tens of thousands of innocent men and women in Afghanistan if Osama bin Laden launches a single rather crude missile at Naples. It is now terrorists and tyrants who threaten us, not empires, and we must therefore have more selective and sophisticated ways of defending ourselves.

The Cold War is over, but we will not realize the full benefit of its passing until everyone involved behaves accordingly—abandoning the fears and apprehensions of half a century of conflict, and the outdated ideas about security that flowed from that long, dark struggle.

Clinging to the notion that the security of others is diminished if the United States is protected against missile attack only perpetuates the anxiety of the Cold War. And that is a climate we must transcend now—so that we may protect ourselves and our allies against the real threats we face today.

Iraq. May have had nuclear weapons before Gulf War. Also had large chemical and biological weapons programs, and missile warheads to deliver them. Possesses all industrial capabilities needed to revive its long-range ballistic missile program, and continues work on its shorter-range programs. Without sanctions, Iraq could be able to lob an intercontinental nuclear missile into the U.S. within the decade. Shorter-range, ship-launched missiles possible much sooner.

India. Developing a whole range of ballistic missiles, including land-, submarine-, and ship-launched versions. Aggressively seeking technology abroad, especially in Russia. Has already flight-tested medium-range missiles. Existing space-launch vehicles give it intercontinental capacity. Has detonated several nuclear devices and is developing warheads for its missiles. Has biological and chemical weapons programs and states it plans to increase spending on missiles and nukes. Could supply material and technology to other nations.

Pakistan. Ballistic missile infrastructure now more advanced than North Korea's and growing rapidly. China and North Korea are its major sources of material and technology. Possesses nuclear-capable missiles, and has conducted nuclear weapons tests. Has biological and chemical weapons programs, as well as a reactor able to produce plutonium.

Libya. Recent reports indicate it has a missile deal with North Korea, from which it has received 50 missiles and seven mobile launchers. The North Koreans have promised to continue assisting its missile programs in the coming years.

Syria. Has arsenal of Scud missiles, reportedly including new North Korean missiles with greater range and mobility.

Sudan. North Korea and Iraq are reportedly building a Scud production facility in Sudan.

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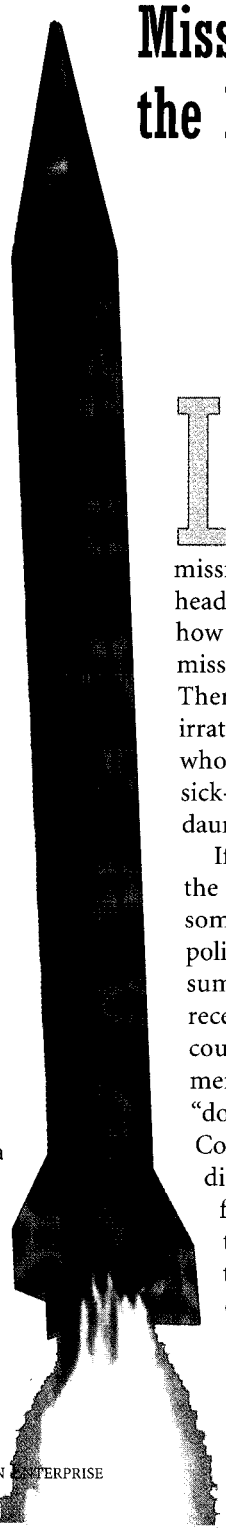
No-Nukes Turn Pro-Nuke

Missile defenses are one thing the Left hates more than Armageddon

By P. J. O'Rourke



Islamic Bomb Pakistan's homegrown Ghauri ballistic missile can carry a nuclear warhead.

Corbis/Bettman

Ladies and gentlemen, for your interest and edification, I'd like to make you sick with fear at the prospect of an attack on America involving missiles armed with nuclear warheads. Unfortunately I don't know how to perform this stunt. The missile attack part is easy enough. There are scientists, generals, and irrational zealots all over the world who know how to do it. But the sick-with-fear aspect of the feat is daunting.

If I say that Washington, D.C., is the target, you say it's about time something was done about our politicos. A mushroom cloud consumes Manhattan? Considering recent NASDAQ performance, it could be mistaken for an e-commerce stock crashing—another "dot.bomb." When Palm Beach County, Florida, gets nuked, the dim-wit residents will think the flash of light comes from more television cameras outside. If they do figure out what's going on, they'll be dialing 991 or 119 or P-A-T-B-U-C-H-A-N-A-N.

But seriously. There you are in a pile of rubble, bleeding profusely. Everything you have is gone. Your spouse and children scream in agony. If they don't die, they'll waste away–from hideous radiation sickness.

So how did the notion that America should posthaste build a system for fending off such horrors get to be a liberal joke? Well, it's remarkable what a small group of dedicated activists can achieve.

For 40-some years the ban the bomb bums, unilateral disarmament goonies, nuclear freeze sleaze, peace creeps, and no-nukes kooks bragged about the horrors of atomic war. There was no end to their end of the world. They painstakingly detailed Armageddon, polished the Apocalypse, rubbed and loved a radioactive holocaust that made the Jonathan Edwards sermon *Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God* sound like a vacation postcard from Cozumel. "Better red than dead," they shrieked. Never mind that they could have gone to Stalin's Russia, Mao's China, or Pol Pot's Cambodia and been both.

This P.R. for extinction had a dramatic effect on popular culture. There were books, movies, plays, even earnest top-40 songs about how we were all going to die, plus at least half a dozen "Twilight Zone" episodes where people emerged from their fallout shelters to find the world ruled by three-headed mutants in a bad mood. It scared the dickens out of us.

But so did being late for work for the third time in a week, and that ominous clunk in the car's transmission, and the kid having a temperature of 103 degrees. Extremely bad things might happen, maybe, in the future. But fairly bad things will happen, definitely, any time now. We could only expend so much of our adrenalin being panicked over "maybes."

Frankly, we got pooped with the horrors of atomic war.

P. J. O'Rourke is international affairs desk chief for Rolling Stone.

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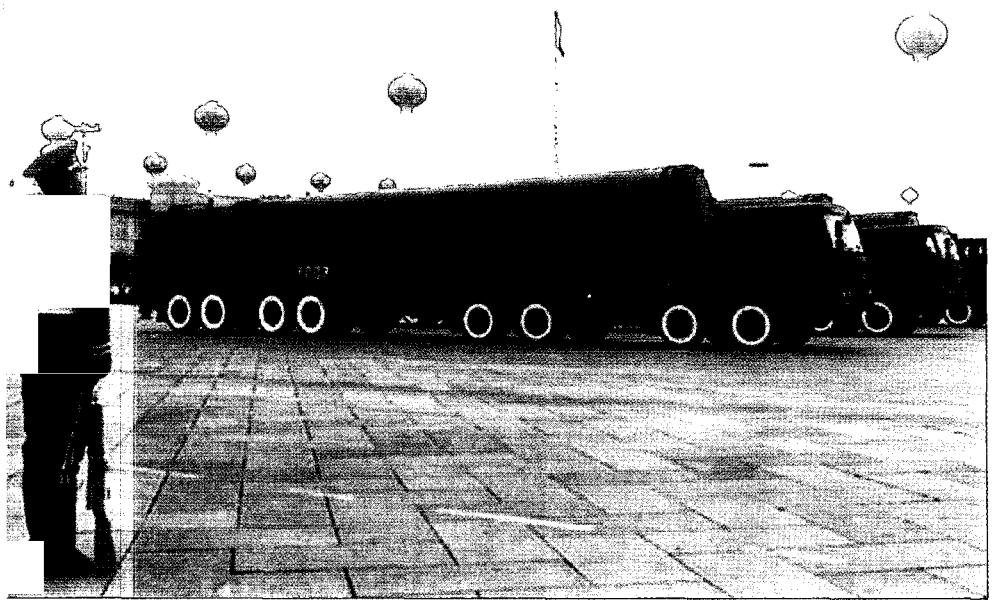
The scary thing is that there are some Americans who don't want to build a way of blocking atomic war.



California Blaster China's Dong Feng-31 is largely built of technology stolen or bought from the U.S. during the 1990s. With a range of nearly 5,000 miles one could easily incinerate Los Angeles, San Francisco, or Seattle—as a Chinese general pointedly reminded Americans not long ago.

And then one day in 1989 the Berlin Wall fell and it was over. No more *On the Beach*, no more *Dawn of Destruction*, no more nuclear winter that would be a hundred times worse than global warming.

Except it isn't over. Our danger has just begun. And the fact that the whole world will not be blown up doesn't mean your house won't. There are "rogue states" to be considered, and in the long haul of history it turns out that all states are rogue states sooner or later. We certainly were, from the point of view of the Cherokee. Bland, unassuming Belgium ravished the Congo basin. The boring do-gooders of Scandinavia, when they had their long boats, terrorized everyone from Moscow to Goose Bay, Labrador.

Knowledge of how to trigger fission and make ICBMs won't disappear like the lost works of Euripides. Too many laptops have been in and out of the Los Alamos Laboratory for that. How will rogue states—or rogue organizations, or just plain rogues—acquire this expertise? Here's a dark side to the free market sunshine in which mankind has been basking: They'll buy it. Too costly? Even the most miserably poor governments seem able to fund large armies, large espionage operations, and large corps of secret police. Is one missile ordered with the H-bomb option really out of the reach of Iraq?

Then there's logic and reason. For all their faults, the leaders of the USSR at least retained their reasoning faculties. Russian commies wanted to destroy America in order to dominate the planet. But if the planet was destroyed in the process, planetary domination lost much of its value. Ergo, commies used Cubans, Vietnamese, and *New York Times* op-ed pieces rather than nuclear weapons.

But what if destroying America is an end rather than a means? Or what if the rogues are theosophists who, due to transmigration of souls, know they will be reborn as those cockroaches that are supposed to be the only things likely to survive a mega-blast? The result, as far as American homeowners are concerned, will be the same as the Cuban missile crisis—if Khrushchev had been drinking more and Jack had doubled up on the back pain medication.

So give a high five (high seven, if you've mutated) to atomic war twenty-first-century style. It doesn't happen only in places like Vladivostok and Chicago anymore. It can happen anywhere anyone is mad at anybody, which is everywhere. There's nobody pounding his shoe on a desk at the U.N. by way of warning. The bombs explode one-by-one instead of simultaneously. And this continues for…for as long as you happen to live or can bear to go on doing so.

But that's not the scary thing. The scary thing is the Americans who don't want to prevent this atomic war.

They're not a majority, perhaps, but if newspaper editorials and television commentaries are any measure, they're a minority of gruesomely influential proportions. These Americas say a missile defense would be expensive. (Like cleaning up the hole where San Francisco used to be is so cheap.) They say the technology is imperfect. ("You spent only 12 seconds in the air? Let's give it up, Orville, and go back to running the bike shop in Dayton.") They say Russia and China will feel more comfortable, psychologically, if they remain able to lob a missile our way unfettered. They say missile defense upsets peaceful feelings in Europe—among our allies who, in 1914, 1939, and lately in the Balkans, have proven themselves so knowledgeable about peacekeeping.

And chief among these Americans who want nuclear weapons to remain an option in contemporary international conflicts are, strangely enough, the moldy old anti-nuclear protestors of yore.

They have risen from their tombs of policy irrelevance and are marching on our homes in a grisly pack. The shock wave ghouls, the test ban zombies, the strontium 90 goblins are today at least as dangerous undead as they were when they were red. They are ready to rip our flesh and roast our bones so that the hell they foresaw all through the Cold War may yet prevail on earth.

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We Surrender

Gloom and doomers have never wanted missile defense to work

By Evan Gahr

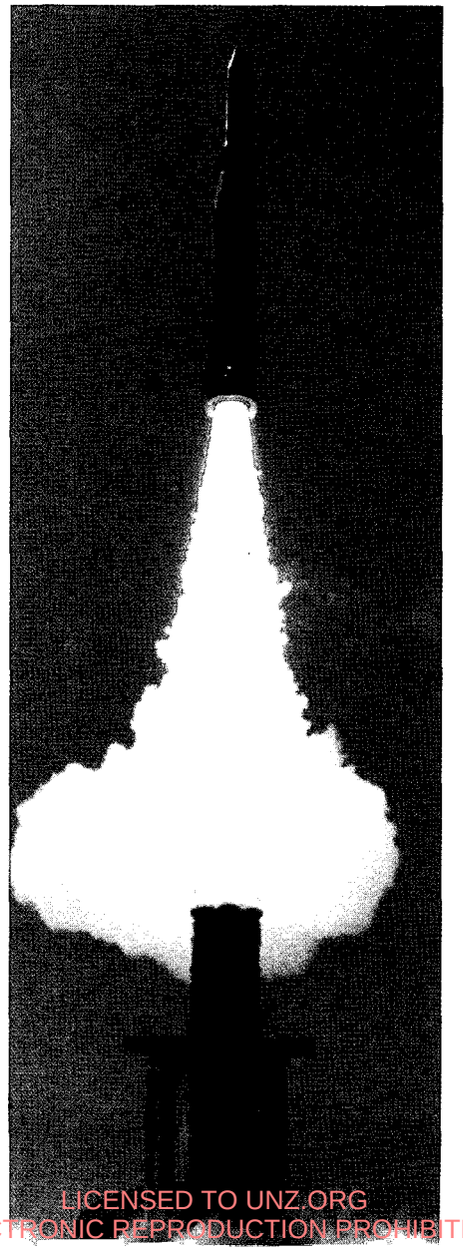
When President Reagan first proposed that the United States set itself to building a defense against nuclear missile attack, Democrats and political liberals went ballistic.

The *New York Times* called Reagan's proposal for a shield against atomic blackmail "a pipe dream, a projection of fantasy into policy." The *Chicago Sun-Times* suggested it was "an appalling disservice" even to propose such a system. "Never in my wildest dreams could I ever imagine our President taking to the national airwaves to promote a strategy of futuristic 'Star Wars' schemes as Mr. Reagan did," sneered Congressman Ted Weiss of New York.

Then-Representative Barbara Boxer, now a Democratic Senator from California, referred to missile defense in 1988 as the President's "astrological dream." Democratic Party standard bearer Michael Dukakis declared that the "Reagan administration's SDI program is a fantasy—a technological illusion which most scientists say cannot be achieved in the foreseeable future. The defenses they envision won't make the United States more secure." Rather, he insisted, missile defense would fuel an arms race and increase the probability of nuclear war.

An even more judgmental Jesse Jackson found SDI pregnant with the possibility of all sorts of disruptions. "Star Wars is a cruel hoax. It offers an impossible technological solution to a political problem. It will cost over a trillion dollars if pursued, and in the end will not produce a defense but an arms race in the heavens. Our coffers will be robbed; our science distorted." Too bad he didn't have a dream.

Scud Buster The Arrow anti-missile missile, jointly developed by the U.S. and Israel, was first deployed in the Middle East in March 2000. It destroys incoming missiles by manuvering near them and then exploding.



Ballistic Missile Defense Organization

Senator John Kerry (D-Mass.) howled that missile defense zealots were roaming the hallways of MIT "like vultures," hoping to enlist scientists to aid their crackpot scheme. *Washington Post* columnist Mary McGrory insisted in 1987 that a report put out by Senators J. Bennett Johnston and William Proxmire "devastated" the claims that missile defense is technologically feasible. Hit-to-kill technology in particular was nothing but a "joke."

Senator Johnston (D-La.) pronounced that building a missile defense would bring national "bankruptcy." Senator Dale Bumpers (D-Ark.) argued that "simply getting the Strategic Defense Initiative system into place could cost about as much as we spend each year for defense and possibly as much as what we now spend yearly for all of the operations of the federal government."

Senator Al Gore agreed that missile defense was both infeasible and financially ruinous. He warned that "a group of extremely hardline conservatives" [are there any other kind?] imagined that the Strategic Defense Initiative could force the Soviet Union into an "accelerated arms race, and, the conservatives hope, pressure the Soviets economically to induce a radical change in their system. But their strategy is not viable. The Soviets have always found the rubles to match our military escalation. We're the ones with Gramm-Rudman [budget caps]. To assume they're the ones who would buckle is madness."

Such arguments echoed back and forth

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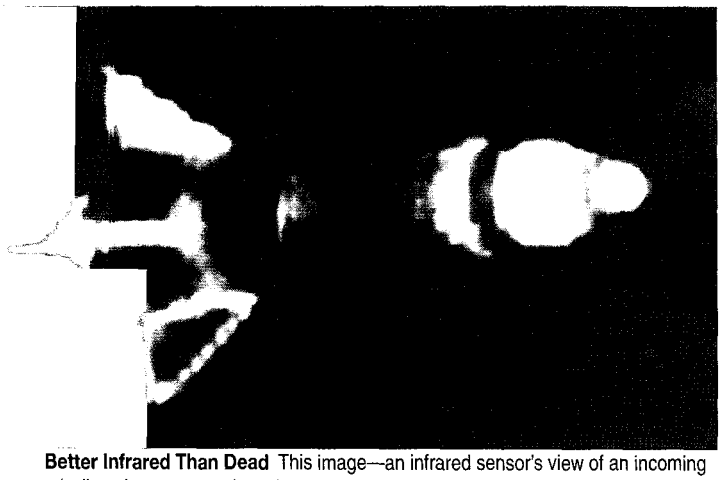
Missile defense skeptics operate more from personal bluster than from evidence. Much of the technology needed is already up and operating.



Better Infrared Than Dead This image—an infrared sensor's view of an incoming missile—demonstrates how the new sensors are solving one of the stickiest problems of missile defense: distinguishing real warheads from decoys.

between missile defense opponents and the media. When ABC "Nightline" host Ted Koppel was asked if the country is spending too much money on defense, he replied, "Well, I think that what is being proposed for expenditures on Star Wars, for example, is absolute nonsense." *New York Times* columnist Anthony Lewis used Reagan's unwavering support for missile defense to illustrate the President's disconnect from reality. "He asserts, as truth, visions that have nothing to do with the facts—and moves the whole framework of debate to his premises."

But who was really out of touch?

After the demise of the Soviet Union, former officials of the USSR conceded that Reagan's missile defense proposals had indeed contributed to the Soviet capitulation. Mikhail Gorbachev concluded that any attempt to match U.S. expenditures on missile defense would prove ruinous to his economically depressed homeland. As former Soviet foreign minister Alexandr Bessmertnykh told a 1993 Princeton University conference, the missile defense proposals first put forth by Ronald Reagan "made us realize we were in a very dangerous spot."

So the Russian leadership "buckled," discarding communism, their war footing, and the entire Cold War in exactly the way that Al Gore and company had deemed absurd. What Gore called the "madness" of missile defense led instead to a historic disarmament and new era of peace.

These experiences in the SDI debate that launched America's current missile defense programs seem to have been lost on many of the journalists now deriding missile defense. In a 1999 story, for instance, *Washington Post* writer Geneva Overholser ignored and distorted the SDI history to argue against further anti-missile research and development. "The people who set to work on what soon became known as Star Wars," she confidently asserted, "did not really believe it would render nuclear weapons impotent and obsolete. Indeed, many among Reagan's followers hoped instead that it would spur the Soviets to build more nuclear weapons and spend themselves to death. But it didn't." Where did Overholser get such revisionist spin? Directly from left-leaning missile defense opponents like the Union of Concerned Scientists, whose spokesman she quotes without properly identifying his political position.

Many of today's public critics of missile defense argue more from personal bluster than from evidence. National columnist Molly Ivins, for instance, recently told readers that missile defense proponents are "trying to...build a bullet that will hit another bullet. We've been working on this since 1983 and still don't have anything that works."

We don't? For nearly two decades now, opponents like Ivins have been trying to deflate the practicality of missile defense by conjuring up this seemingly impossible image of "hitting a bullet with a bullet." So Ivins and her compatriots may be interested to learn that several hit-to-kill systems (hitting a missile with another missile) are already up and operating today. They include the American PAC-3 Patriot missile.

As for the crocodile tears about pouring money into government programs that don't work, where were the hard-nosed, results-oriented Ivins and Bumpers and Jesse Jackson when it came to, say, assessing federal anti-poverty programs? Too bad Jackson and company refuse to adapt the same adage for missile defense that they apply to so many pie-in-the-sky programs: *Keep hope alive.*

Alas, convincing the Left to consider missile defense with any measure of optimism, patriotic idealism, or even seriousness seems to be a nearly impossible dream. President Bush would do well to ignore these particular opponents and take his case instead (even if it requires an end run around the often-hostile media) to the American people. The public as a whole usually has a much clearer sense of when government is acting foolishly, and when it's acting as a lifesaver.

Ballistic Missile Defense Organization

Hitting a Bullet with a Bullet These time-lapse photographs show the successful intercept of an incoming missile by America's advanced PAC-3 Patriot anti-missile system.

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Politicians Will Build it...

...Because the people want protection

By Newt Gingrich

President Bush campaigned by promising to build a defense against ballistic missiles as soon as possible. He showed he intended to keep that vow when he appointed Don Rumsfeld as Secretary of Defense. Rumsfeld chaired the national commission that raised the alarm a couple years ago about America's urgent need to protect itself against missile attacks.

Opponents (most, but not all, from the political Left) will attempt to weaken or limit any missile defense the President proposes. Some will insist that a missile defense system could begin a new arms race. Overseas adversaries, and even many of our allies, will attempt to slow down or block development. They know such a system will make America even stronger and more capable of using power abroad with limited risks at home, dramatizing their own relative lack of military capability.

Ironically, though, opponents' noisy objections may actually enhance the chances that a strong missile defense will be built. For there is already a broad and growing bipartisan consensus in favor of constructing at least a limited missile shield. A cycle of national dialogue on this subject will only cement the dimensions of the threat in the minds of Americans, leading to even stronger public demands for protection from such an assault. So I believe Bush and Rumsfeld will get their anti-missile umbrella. The only real question is what kind of system will be deployed, and how rapidly.

In response to rising pressure from public opinion and from Republicans in Congress, the Clinton administration grudgingly began to promote a missile defense design in the late 1990s. It was a very limited assemblage tortuously set up to fit within the confines of the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty signed with the Soviet Union. There would be only a single site for interceptors, they would be carefully limited in number, and there would be no second or third layer of defense.

Clinton's determination to avoid re-negotiating or withdrawing from the ABM Treaty meant we were committed to a small "missile hits a missile" system that is technologically difficult to build and less likely to be effective than other alternatives. This hit-to-kill method intercepts warheads as they re-enter the atmosphere, moving at maximum speed, and potentially in tandem with numerous decoys released from the same rocket. Many experts believe this system was badly conceived and should be shelved and replaced by one more likely to succeed.

The Clinton administration in effect tried to appease opponents by building the weakest possible ABM structure. They did everything they could to tie America into a minimalist and highly limited defense. They put strict technological constraints on the system in order to adhere to the legalisms of the ABM Treaty. And their diplomatic efforts overseas were so feeble and ill-considered they alienated key allies and actually made them more opposed to an American missile defense.

The Clinton approach is so bad it would be better to build no system at all rather than waste resources on this ill-considered one. America could actually be *more* vulnerable if it puts its faith in a hamstrung system that is easy to penetrate. The Clinton defense could create a false sense of security. It cannot be repaired or improved. It needs to be scrapped and replaced by an entirely different approach.

A more promising system now being considered by defense experts focuses on destroying missiles shortly after they launch, while they are still climbing upward through the atmosphere. This has two enormous advantages. First, during this boost phase the missile is a much larger, slower, softer and more vulnerable target than a warhead re-entering the atmosphere from space. Second, hitting the missile early means no decoys will have been released to drown the defense system in false targets. A single missile killed in the boost phase might eliminate ten to 30 potential targets at re-entry.

The Pentagon has recognized the advantages of boost-phase defense, and a number of proposals have been made to develop methods of defeating missiles shortly after they take off. The potential launch sites of nations like North Korea, Iran, and Iraq are close enough to the ocean that a U.S. Navy ship might be able to knock down offensive missiles without too much difficulty from offshore. In addition to keeping defensive missiles onboard ships we would need new satellites for detecting hostile launches and helping to target our anti-missile missiles. As a result, we would have to discard our ABM Treaty agreements with the now-defunct Soviet Union in order to build such a system—which

Newt Gingrich, former Speaker of the House of Representatives, is a senior fellow at the American Enterprise Institute and a visiting fellow at the Hoover Institution.

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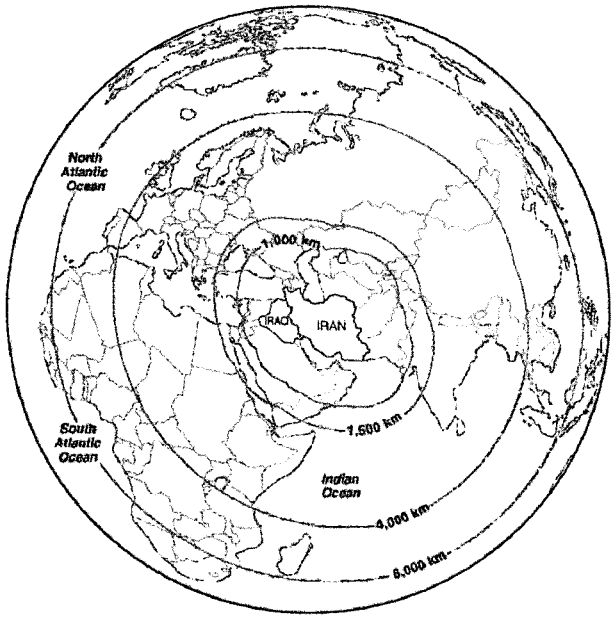

Ring of Fire Iran and Iraq both already possess ballistic missiles able to reach thousands of miles—capabilities they are racing to upgrade. Each nation is also trying to acquire nuclear warheads and other weapons of mass destruction.

would in itself be a very sensible decision.

Opponents complain missile defenses could be costly. But it is vitally important to keep in mind the potential costs of a *failure* to act on this front. Today we have absolutely no defense against weapons of mass destruction—nuclear, chemical, or biological—launched against the United States. As a result, hundreds of thousands or even millions of Americans could be killed by just one rocket. If there exists a technological alternative that could protect American cities (and those of our friends and allies) from such a catastrophe, we have an absolute moral imperative to develop it.

If we are going to stop all dangerous missiles in their boost phase, even those launched from sites too far inland to be knocked down by ship-based interceptors, we will eventually need a third layer of defense: space-based interceptors. This will stir up additional opposition from activists who argue space must be kept pristine and "non-militarized."

Responsible political leaders must point out that resisting the placement of military lasers or small tactical nuclear warheads in earth's orbit in order to protect the purity of space makes no sense if the alternative is for a much larger nuclear weapon to go off over a city, killing hundreds of thousands or millions of people and poisoning the atmosphere. Only ideological fanatics would choose the second option. Missile defenders must make this clear.

There are those today who refuse to take the danger of a nuclear attack on an American city seriously—because it would lead to programs they would rather not support. As the Bush administration begins to explain how real the threat is, and how dreadful the consequences of a missile attack with a nuclear, chemical, or biological weapon of mass destruction would be, public pressure will certainly build for robust and technologically advanced defenses.

The longer opponents fight the deployment of a modest ABM system, the more advocates will be forced to illustrate the dangers to Americans; the more hearings Congress has to hold on the mortal threat to our cities, the bolder the proposals will become. Ironically, then, stubborn opposition to missile defense is likely to yield only wider public demand for even bigger systems. The reality of mass-kill weapons development in Iran, Iraq, North Korea, Pakistan, India, China, and other countries is not going to go away, and the more that Americans examine these realities, the more adamant they are likely to become in seeking protection.

Our democracy will educate itself on the potential horrors of modern weapons in the hands of dangerous opponents and insist on a national response. Politicians—of both parties—will ultimately follow the public. The system *will* be built.

Never Mind Foreign Objections

"The United States has made it clear that it intends to deploy some effective missile defense system, and there has to be an acceptance that that was the decision made in the election campaign, and we should treat it seriously and with respect."
—Britain's Lord Robertson, secretary-general of NATO, 2/01.

"The United States has the right to deploy." On possible conflicts with the ABM Treaty: "It's not a Bible."
— European Union foreign policy chief Javier Solana, 2/01.

"It should be possible to persuade Russia that this is not in any way destabilizing to Russia."
—British Foreign Secretary Robin Cook, 2/01.

"The Russians never adored the ABM Treaty enough to abide by it.... No, the Russians cherish the ABM Treaty because the Americans abide by it. Under the treaty's terms, the U.S. *can't* build a real missile defense. Under Russia's economic system today, they *couldn't* build one."
—Kenneth Adelman, former U.S. arms control director, 2/01.

"I want to make something perfectly clear to our friends in Russia. The United States is no longer bound by the ABM Treaty—that treaty expired when our treaty partner (the Soviet Union) ceased to exist. Legally speaking, the Bush administration faces no impediment whatsoever to proceeding with *any* national missile defense system it chooses to deploy.

"Personally, I do not think that a new ABM Treaty can be negotiated with Russia that would permit the kind of defenses America needs. But, as Henry Kissinger told the Foreign Relations Committee last year: 'I would be open to argument, *provided* that we do not use the treaty as a constraint on pushing forward on the most effective development of a national and theater missile defense.'"
—Jesse Helms, Senate Foreign Relations Committee chair, 2/01.

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Bomb Blocking

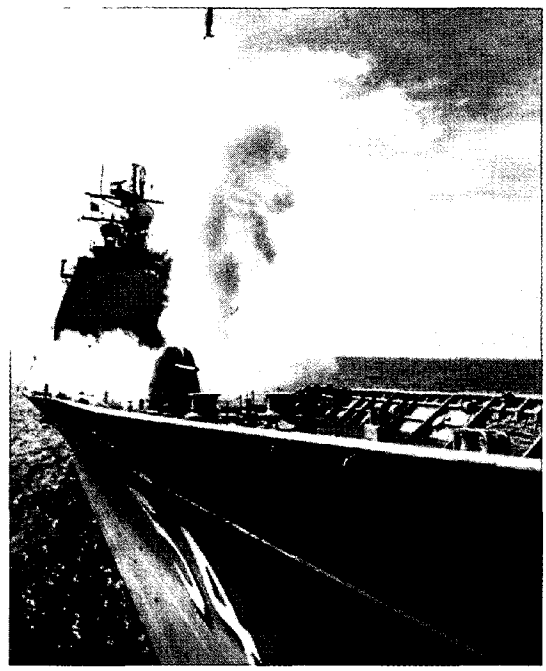
What can we do now? What do we need?

By Mackubin Owens

George W. Bush campaigned on the issue of missile defense, criticizing his predecessor for leaving America and her allies undefended. He promised that as President he would pursue robust protections against ballistic missile attack.

But is such a system technologically feasible?

While missile defense does require complex engineering, recent advances in computers, sensors, missile design, and laser construction provide many options for defense against ballistic missiles that would be both affordable and available in the near future. The real question is whether missile defense will receive sufficient funding and national priority. So far it is less technological constraints than the Clinton administration's political decisions that have delayed the arrival of effective missile defense.



Go Navy America's Aegis cruisers, deployed around the globe, already provide a system for knocking down short-range missiles with their interceptor missiles. The Navy is now testing upgrades which could make the Aegis system effective in stopping medium- and longer-range missiles.

Ballistic Missile Defense Organization

Shielding a nation against ballistic missiles is a demanding assignment. A defense must be able to detect a missile launch, track the missile and its payload throughout its trajectory, discriminate between warheads and decoys, then intercept and destroy the warheads, some of which may maneuver evasively once they re-enter the earth's atmosphere, at peak speeds of up to 16,000 miles per hour.

The flight of a ballistic missile can be broken down into three phases: the boost phase, the mid-course phase, and the terminal phase. A ballistic missile is most vulnerable during the boost phase. As it takes off, its speed is relatively slow and it hasn't yet deployed its payload of re-entry vehicles and decoys.

During the mid-course phase, the vehicle leaves the earth's atmosphere, and the warheads and decoys deploy. Since this phase takes place in the vacuum of space, tinfoil decoys and heavy warheads travel at the same velocity, and it is difficult for radar to distinguish between them. On the other hand, infrared sensors are able to tell the difference because the decoys cool in the surrounding space faster than the warheads.

During the terminal phase, the warheads and decoys re-enter the earth's atmosphere, and the differing atmospheric effects on warheads and decoys permit sophisticated radar to tell one from the other. Though there is little time left at this point, computers can calculate the trajectory of the warheads, making interception possible. A sophisticated enough attacker, however, can complicate the problem by making the warhead maneuverable, so its path is unpredictable. The warhead either will detonate at a preset altitude or when a salvage fuse tells it that it is about to be intercepted. If the warhead explodes 20 miles above the earth, there will be no damage. Below this altitude, damage will occur.

Clearly, the most effective missile defense would have tools capable of destroying missiles or warheads during any phase of their ballistic trajectory. Such a defense would require sensors,

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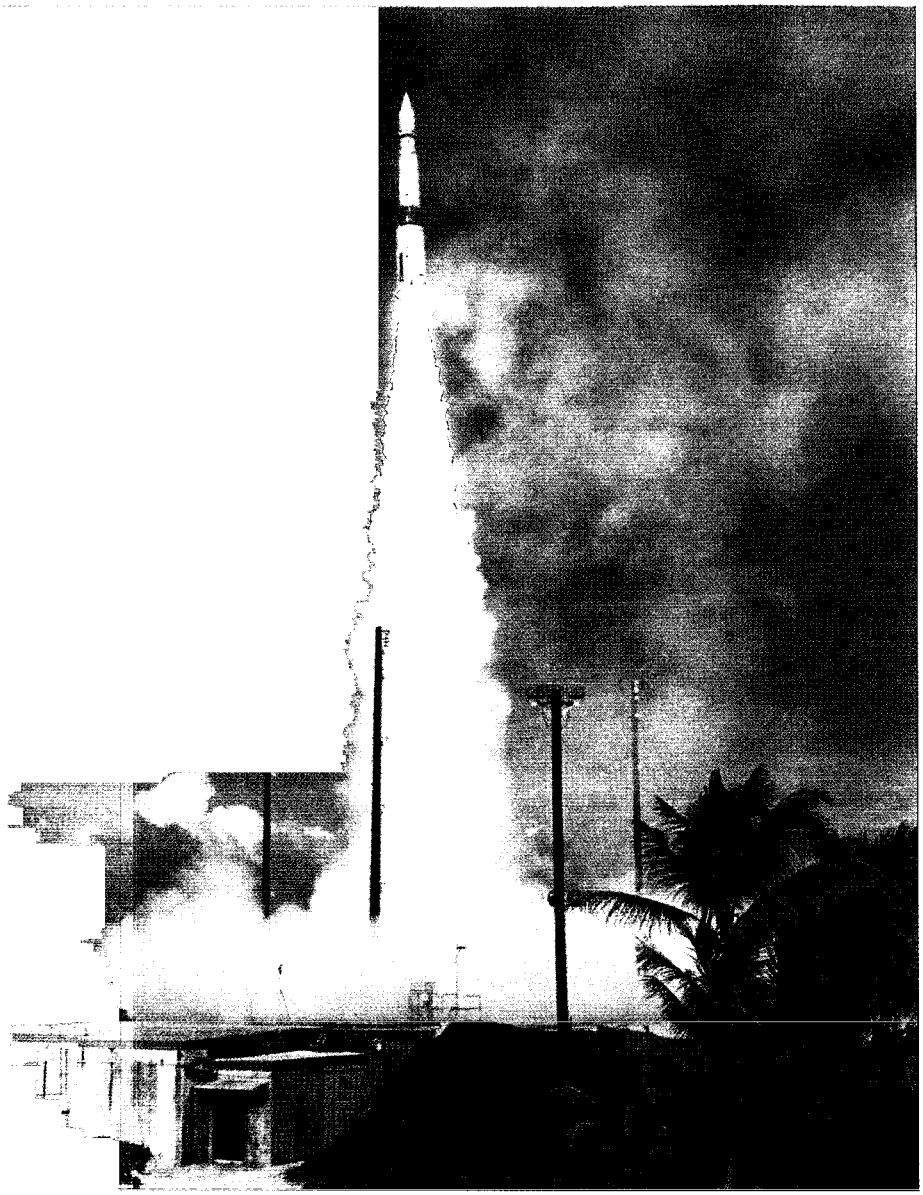
Recent advances in computers, sensors, missile design, and lasers provide many options for defense against ballistic missiles.



Major League Defense Boeing, Lockheed Martin, Raytheon, TRW and other contractors are now working to link an array of radars, rocket boosters, and kill vehicles that could shield all of North America from missile attack. One of the test interceptors blasts off from a South Pacific atoll above.

control elements, and a variety of space-based, sea-based, and land-based interceptors. It would place a great premium on the ability to kill a missile during the boost phase, before things become more complicated. Is such an arrangement feasible?

Our national missile defense programs have been whipsawed by swings in direction, emphasis, and funding since their inception in 1983. The Reagan-era Strategic Defense Initiative was envisioned as a counter to the Soviet ICBM threat. With the end of the Cold War, the first Bush administration scaled this back to a more modest system intended to defend against limited attacks by rogue states and accidental launches. During the Clinton administration, missile defense was essentially relegated to a modest research program until the release of the Rumsfeld Commission report in 1998, followed shortly by Iranian and North Korean ballistic missile tests.

Spurred by these needles, the Clintonites began to plan for a three-phase defense system. The first phase would supposedly protect the U.S. from an attack by a rogue state that launched unsophisticated warheads. To fulfill this requirement, the Clinton administration proposed a modest upgrade of ground-based early warning radars, one battle-management radar, and 20 ground-based interceptor missiles based in Alaska, subsequently expanded to 100 interceptors. Originally, this setup was scheduled to be deployed in 2000, but President Clinton delayed action into the Bush administration.

Clinton's plan called for a second phase aimed at stopping more sophisticated attacks. It would add additional ground-based sensors, deploy space-based infrared sensors, and add more interceptors. The final phase to be built under the Clinton plan was never defined, but would probably have included additional sea- and space-based shielding.

In addition to these nationwide defenses, the United States is currently perfecting a variety of systems designed to defend our troops and allies against closer-range battlefield uses of ballistic missiles (like the Iraqi Scud attacks). These Theater Missile Defense systems include an advanced PAC-3 version of the Army's Patriot missile, and a version of the Navy's Aegis system for defending ships and harbors against short-range ballistic missiles. The Army and the Navy also have well-developed higher altitude systems for battlefield defense against missiles. All of these Army and Navy systems work by shooting an interceptor missile to hit and kill the attacking missile.

The Air Force is also testing, with some success, a powerful chemical laser weapon to be carried aboard a Boeing 747. While flying above the clouds at 40,000 feet, it can destroy ballistic missiles in their boost phase with a powerful beam of light. All of these various systems are promising, and between them they have already achieved six successful intercepts in tests. Together, the several approaches can provide multi-layered protection.

So where do we go from here? Despite many advances, critics claim that U.S. missile defense programs have yet to prove they are wholly reliable under realistic conditions. But the

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It is less technological constraints than political decisions that have delayed the arrival of effective missile defense.

Currently Operating The Army's THAAD is a truck-based system of missiles, radars, and control centers that presently protects battlefields and civilian centers from short-range ballistic missiles. Upgrades that could make the system effective against intercontinental ballistic missiles are being researched.

successful intercepts achieved to date prove that the basic technology is feasible. The highly publicized test failures that have occurred thus far were the result of engineering problems and insufficient resources, not the technology itself. And with each test, these systems have been progressively improved.

The real problem with our ballistic missile defense program has been one of emphasis and commitment. The Clinton administration did not give missile defense high priority until 1999, and then only reluctantly, after Congress overwhelmingly passed the National Missile Defense Act in response to North Korean and Iranian missile tests. And the system Clinton pursued was horribly hobbled by arms control considerations—the desire to avoid or minimize revisions to the ABM Treaty.

Assuming President Bush is able to gain a consensus in Congress, what technological options should he pursue? First and foremost, he should not be constrained by the Clinton administration's missile defense plan, which is deficient in several respects: Its sensors are inadequate in number and quality. Its ability to defend the United States from a single site is severely limited. It can engage threats only during the mid-course phase of the missile trajectory. And it lacks any capability to defend against shorter-range ballistic missiles.

While the Bush administration has many options available, three steps seem especially promising for meeting the near-term threat, while avoiding "lock in" that would make it hard to pursue promising new technologies in the future. Our first step should be to add sea-based and space-based interceptors to the Pentagon's current plans. There is a misperception that the technology for ground-based systems is more mature, but in truth, existing research and development favors sea- and space-based alternatives.

Adding improved radars to the Navy's Theater Wide missile defense system would make it an effective off-shore shot-blocker against states (like North Korea or Iran) attempting to launch unsophisticated ballistic missiles at the U.S. The same array aug-

A Shield *and* a Sword

Why we need a stronger conventional military even with missile defense.

By Seth Cropsey

A sound defense consists of two parts: a raised sword that can deter an enemy, and a powerful shield to protect us if we are attacked. America needs a shield to protect our people if terrorists or tyrants launch weapons of mass destruction against us. But our need for weapons capable of deterring such an attack in the first place is just as great. Our enemies will always need to know that we have the offensive power to inflict terrible, measured punishment on them if ever they attack us or our allies.

What about the roughly 5,000 nuclear warheads that remain in the U.S. inventory after post-Cold War reductions, one may ask? Wouldn't they deter any enemy from launching a strike against America? These would indeed deter a depleted Russia or a growing China from initiating a direct nuclear attack against us. But what about an irrational dictator bent on waging an extended campaign of terrorism against the U.S.? What about a U.S.-economy-crushing threat to close the Persian Gulf's Strait of Hormuz? Are we going to retaliate against such actions with a nuclear outburst? Hardly. Or what about a Chinese attack on Taiwan? Do the rulers in Beijing believe we would pick up nuclear weapons if they raped Taipei?

Nuclear weapons are effective tools for discouraging full-blown world wars, but their disproportionate power makes them much less credible against smaller and less predictable threats. This is why neither a nuclear offense nor a nuclear defense can take the place of a potent U.S. conventional response. Today and tomorrow as much as ever in the past, we continue to need powerful air, land, and naval forces capable of fast and decisive action.

I suggest our best conventional deterrent would be large numbers of cruise missiles. We ought to possess thousands and thou-

Seth Cropsey, a visiting fellow of the American Enterprise Institute, was a Pentagon official in the Reagan and Bush administrations.

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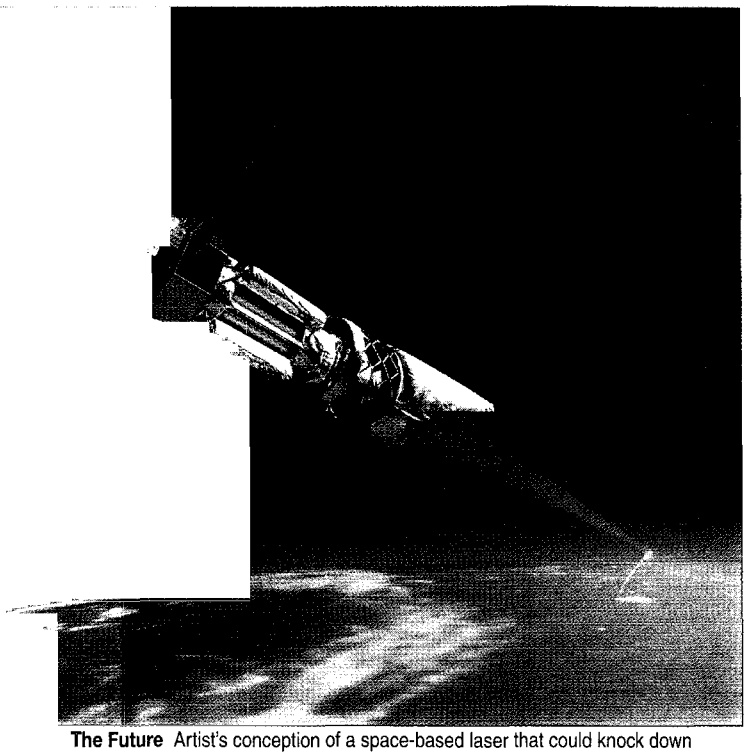
If our nation wants a shield against devastating missile attack, there is no scientific reason why we can't have it.



The Future Artist's conception of a space-based laser that could knock down hostile missiles while they are still in their boost phase.

mented by ground-based interceptors could also protect against more sophisticated ballistic missiles. Integrating space-based sensors into the Navy system could enable it to defend even U.S. allies. These improvements should be pursued immediately.

The Clinton administration inherited a fully funded, high-priority research program of space-based, low-altitude sensors that must ultimately be part of any missile defense. The effort underway in 1993 was to be fielded as early as 2000, but it stalled because of a lack of funds, turbulent management, and the low priority the Clinton administration assigned to missile defense. There are no technical obstacles to proceeding, however, and the beginnings of a space-based system could be deployed rapidly. The Bush administration should give it high priority.

Slightly down the road, a system that neutralizes missiles in their boost phase—before they can disperse decoys or dozens of small chemical/biological bomblets—will be absolutely imperative. A space-based interceptor is technologically feasible, but realistically, since the Clinton administration canceled the "Brilliant Pebbles" system of low-altitude, space-based interceptors, such a system is probably a decade or more away. In the meantime, the Bush administration should give increased priority to the airborne laser. Currently, the program is scheduled to demonstrate a lethal intercept in 2003, reach initial operation in 2007, and achieve full capability in 2010. That pace should be accelerated. In addition, President Bush should reinstate the "Raptor-Talon" program, which envisions using unmanned aerial vehicles to launch missile interceptors.

If our nation wants a defense against ballistic missile attack, there is no technological reason why we can't have it. The Clinton administration lacked the will to deploy a system, primarily because it was committed to staying within the bounds of the ABM Treaty. If the programs I've described are funded and emphasized, however, a broad front of useful defenses will quickly emerge.

sands of them, armed with powerful conventional explosives. Extremely precise cruise missiles launchable from large planes or (more cheaply) from ships can inflict a painful toll on an enemy from safe distances. Fusillades can be targeted at an enemy nation's military and civilian infrastructure—its headquarters, communications centers, intelligence offices, barracks, ammunition dumps, petroleum farms, and transportation facilities—so as to destroy the entire basis of an enemy's ability to wage war.

To avoid repetition of the Kosovo air campaign's vulnerability—when the U.S. military's cruise missile inventory was almost exhausted by a limited campaign against a negligible enemy—we should build and deploy several thousand missiles, and keep an equal number in strategic reserve. Simultaneously we need a more acute and accurate intelligence-gathering operation, so appropriate target information can be gathered, kept current, and fed into the systems of deployed U.S. forces.

With such a system in place—and it would have to include some technical skills that now elude us; for example, how to reload cruise missiles at sea—an American President would not be forced, in the event of a limited nuclear attack, to choose between the immoral option of using nuclear weapons to slaughter millions of innocents, or the politically unacceptable option of doing nothing. Nor would he be forced into the imponderable option of launching a full-scale ground war to remove the guilty tyrant. The U.S. would have an instrument that enemies would know our President could use with devastating effect without crossing the nuclear threshold.

Unfortunately, as a result of the Clinton administration's weak leadership and deliberate postponement of spending to replace aging weapons, the U.S. military is now dramatically weakened when it comes to conducting conventional wars. The Bush administration thus faces some important decisions. The temptation will be to rely on our Cold War-era deterrent of existing nuclear weapons, supplemented with a high-tech shield to make us safe from the nuclear weapons of others. But will that be enough to keep Americans safe in the future—when unpredictable smaller powers will be far more likely than big ones to challenge the satanic USA?

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Dump the ABM Treaty

By Jeane J. Kirkpatrick

What George Washington called our "blessed location" between two vast oceans can no longer protect America from weapons of mass destruction. Contemporary missile technology is evaporating those oceans. And our failure to develop a defense in response leaves Americans vulnerable to a degree that we have never been vulnerable in the entire life of our nation.

Too many in Congress and among allies abroad are wedded to an "arms control" approach to this threat. They are more concerned with preserving paper barriers like the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty than with reliably protecting millions of American men, women, and children. Their strategy does not work.

For example, we hear the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) praised, even though it has actually helped *spread* the technology needed to produce nuclear weapons. Under the treaty's terms, countries like Iran gained the *right* to assistance in developing their (supposedly peaceful) nuclear capacities from other signatories like Russia. Iraq was actually on the governing board of the International Atomic Energy Agency—charged with ensuring compliance with the NPT—at the same time it violated promises not to develop nuclear weapons. In short, a treaty intended to halt nuclear proliferation has been the principal source of that proliferation.

If treaties and diplomatic control regimes actually worked, Iraq, North Korea, India, and Pakistan would not have bombs today. But they do. Nor have countries like Iraq been prevented by various treaties and conventions from developing and using chemical weapons. What happens when a nation violates a weapons treaty? Little or nothing. A country attacked by the resulting weapons, however, will experience devastation.

The Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty has not, despite its defenders' claims, stabilized international relations. The country with which we signed the ABM Treaty no longer exists, and when it *did* exist it violated the treaty—as Soviet Foreign Minister Edouard Schevardnadze admitted soon after the Cold War ended. Today, Russia retains a huge arsenal of weapons of mass destruction and is much less stable than we would prefer.

Meanwhile, China is dramatically increasing the reach and accuracy of her missiles. Her leaders are pushing for preservation of the ABM Treaty—paying lip service to "strategic stability"—while simultaneously using their new power to threaten Japan, Taiwan, the Philippines, and the U.S. The Chinese are also aiding the spread of nuclear and missile technology to Pakistan, Iran, and North Korea.

Meanwhile, the number of other countries with nuclear weapons and the missiles to deliver them is increasing alarmingly. In 1998 the bipartisan Rumsfeld Commission concluded that any of several small anti-American nations may, if they choose, "be able to inflict major damage on the U.S. within about five years of a decision to acquire such a capability." Worse, "during several of those years the U.S. might not be aware that such a decision had been made."

The archaic ABM Treaty was ratified during a time when only the United States and the Soviet Union had the capacity to reach the other's territory with ballistic missiles. Whether the treaty contributed to America's security during the Cold War is a question for historians. The question today is whether it contributes to our security now. The answer is a resounding no.

By allowing the ABM Treaty to constrain our ability to defend ourselves, we allow dangerous governments to acquire power they would not otherwise have. The United States should give notice of our intention to withdraw from the treaty and immediately focus on building a missile defense system to protect our most vital interest: our national survival.

Yes, there will be complaints from abroad. Russia clearly has an interest in keeping America vulnerable to its missiles. The Russian military, lacking its former size and power, has chosen to place ICBMs at the center of its national strategy.

The ABM Treaty also serves China's long-term ambition to become the dominant power in East Asia, because a missile defense system developed by the U.S and shared with its Asian allies would neutralize China's ability to blackmail its neighbors. If we do not provide an adequate missile defense for our Asian allies, a regional nuclear arms race may indeed result. Japan, for instance, may feel compelled to develop nuclear weapons to counterbalance those coming in China and North Korea.

The ABM Treaty is without legal standing. Under international and U.S. law, it expired with the Soviet Union's demise in 1991. Yet its restrictions prohibit our scientists from developing the effective, economical system they know how to create. The right of self-defense is undisputed in courts of law and the U.N. Charter. It is time to unleash the creativity of American scientists and allow them to solve the problems of defending the United States, its allies, and world peace generally from potentially grievous harm.

Former U.N. Ambassador Jeane J. Kirkpatrick is a professor at Georgetown University and a senior fellow of AEI.

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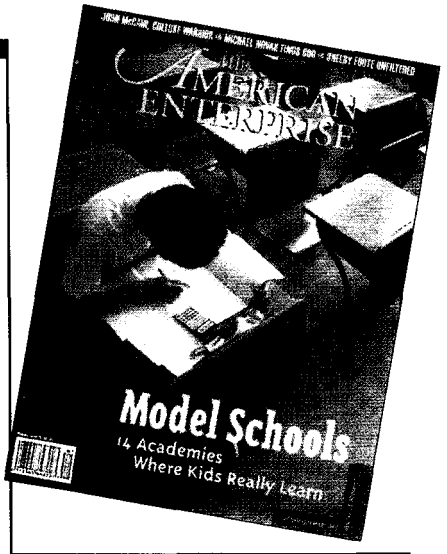

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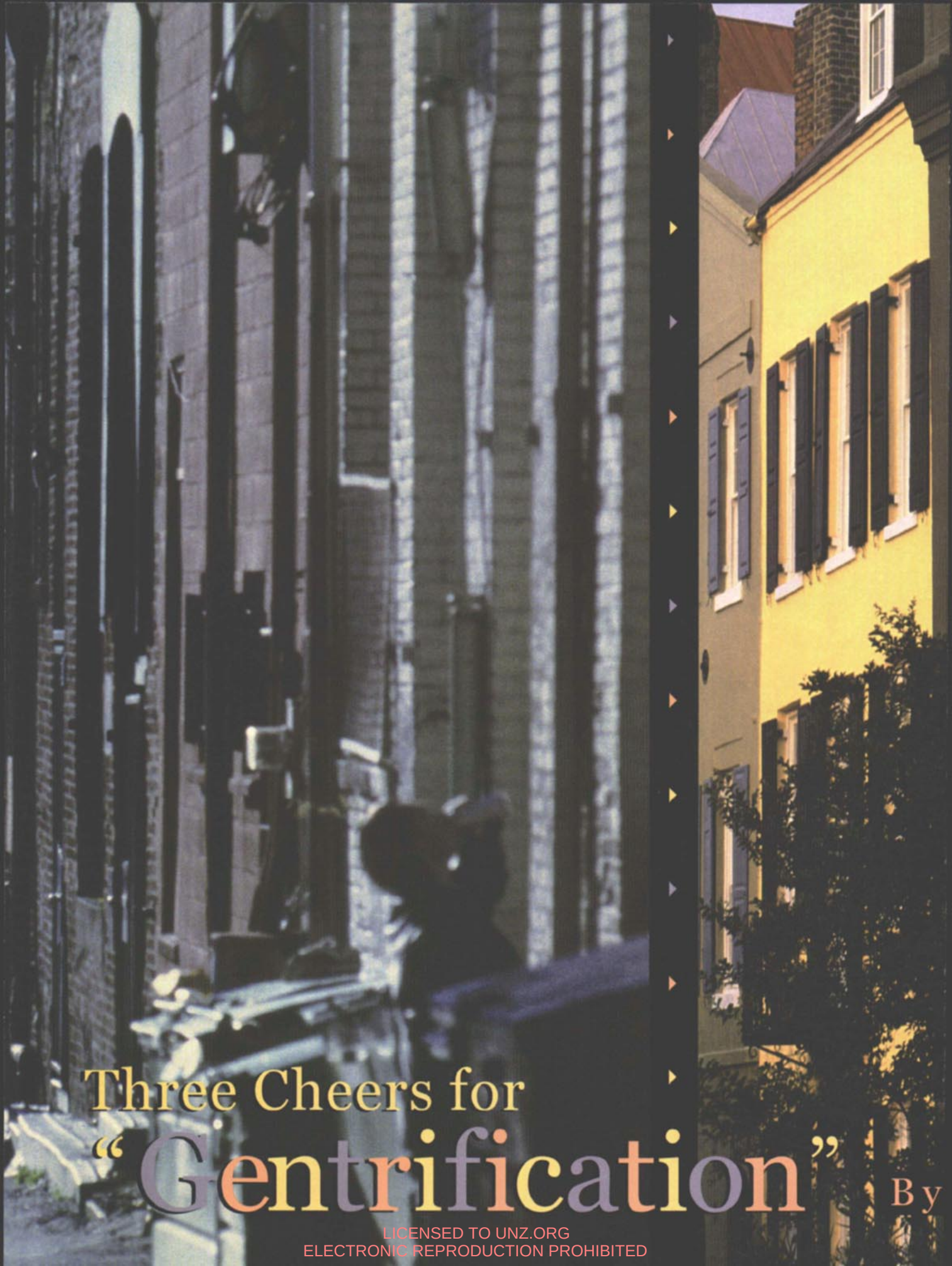

Three Cheers for "Gentrification"

By

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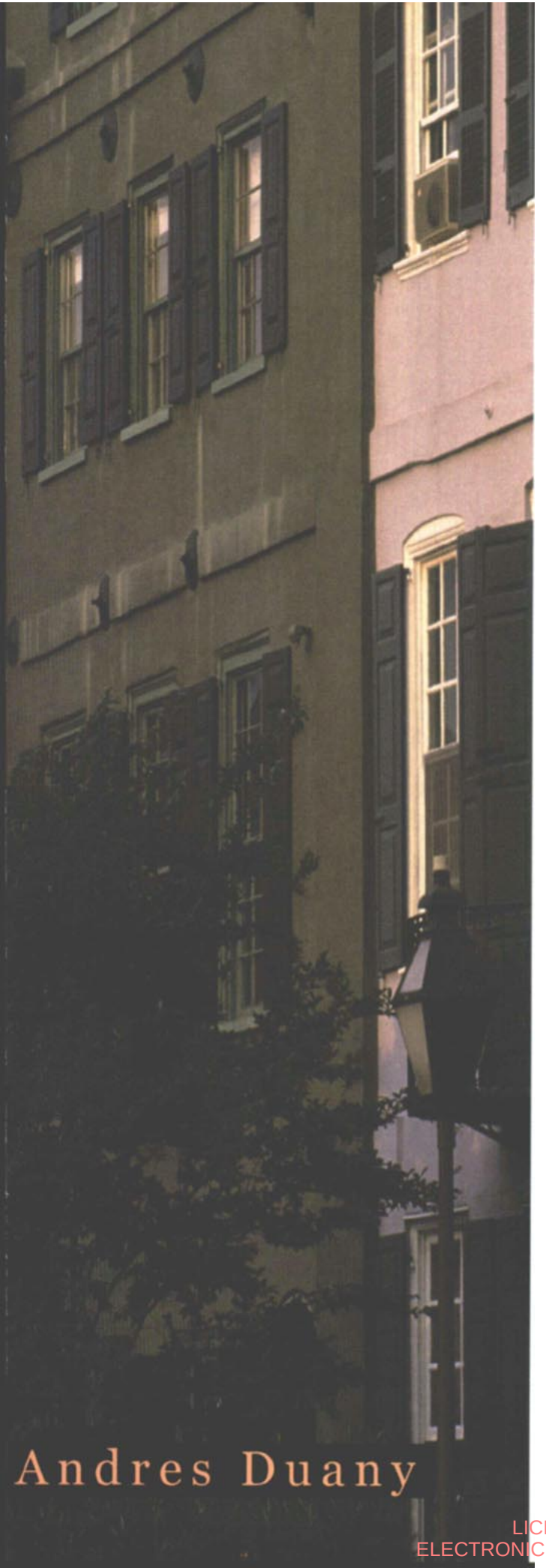

These days, whenever more than a handful of middle-income people move into a formerly down-at-the-heels neighborhood, they are accused of committing that newest of social sins: "gentrification." This loaded term—conjuring up images of yuppies stealing urban housing from rightful inhabitants—has become embedded in the way many activists understand urban evolution. And the thinking behind it has become a serious obstacle to the revival of American cities.

"Affordable" housing isn't always what cities need more of. Some do, but many need just the opposite. For every San Francisco or Manhattan where real estate has become uniformly too expensive, there are many more cities like Detroit, Trenton, Syracuse, Milwaukee, Houston, and Philadelphia that could use all the gentrification they can get. The last thing these places ought to be pursuing is more cheap housing.

Gentrification is usually good news, for there is nothing more unhealthy for a city than a monoculture of poverty. As Reuben Greenberg, the African-American police chief of Charleston, South Carolina, has said, "Urban problems are caused not by poverty, but by the concentration of poverty." Gentrification rebalances a concentration of poverty by providing the tax base, rub-off work ethic, and political effectiveness of a middle class, and in the process improves the quality of life for all of a community's residents. It is the rising tide that lifts all boats.

Opposition to gentrification often starts from the assumption that it is artificially induced, and controllable. But with few exceptions, neither of those things are true. There have been a few examples where the power and resources of governments were used to try to force revitalization of decrepit parts of cities. Two famous examples are the harbor area of Baltimore and the West Side of Manhattan. In Baltimore, the city created a multitude of entertainment, sports, and cultural venues at Baltimore Harbor. In New York, the catalyst was the building of Lincoln Center in the early 1960s. But in those places, and other cities as well, force-feeding gentrification was expensive, slow, and only partially successful. So induced gentrification has been rare.

By contrast, examples of spontaneous gentrification—improvement that takes off without municipal intervention—are legion. New York has undergone a continuous sequence of these, beginning with Greenwich Village and proceeding to SoHo and all the subsequent Hos. Elsewhere around the country, it is hard to believe today that the real estate of Georgetown, Beacon Hill, Charleston, Santa Fe, or Nob Hill was ever down; but so it was, before spontaneous gentrification. South Florida, in just 20 years, has witnessed the gentrification of Coconut Grove, Miami Beach, and the scrappy old town of Key West. Each of these transformations was driven not by planners but by individuals discovering the excellent urban qualities of the place. The government caught up later, sometimes trying to take credit, often interfering with the natural cycle.

Spontaneous gentrification begins surreptitiously, when a first wave of poor but savvy pioneers discovers the urban allure of a hitherto decrepit area. These are usually students, artists, gays, and other self-marginalized social groups. Such folk have been characterized by sociologists as the "risk-oblivious." With their creativity and sweat they demonstrate that old lofts and townhouses are habitable, indeed charming.

Miami architect Andres Duany, co-author of Suburban Nation *and other books establishing the principles of neo-traditional design, was profiled in the Nov./Dec. 1996 issue of* The American Enterprise *on cities and suburbs.*

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They transform ratty bad-food joints into ratty good-food joints. This first wave produces social more than economic or physical gentrification.

By the time the corner stores are stocking olive oil, the area is noticed by a second wave, characterized as the "risk-aware." These people are able to invest in renovation not just with sweat equity but financially. They expect to secure loans, and therefore must satisfy the building codes and permits that the first wave probably ignored. The second wave includes a group that is pervasive among baby boomers: individuals who affect the bohemian lifestyle while holding secure jobs. This cohort is an economic but not necessarily a physical gentrifying force. They like the place to look rough and edgy, even as it becomes more expensive.

The third wave, which follows, is "risk-averse." This group is led by conventional developers who thoroughly smarten up the buildings through conventional real estate operations—physical renovation, improved maintenance, and organized security. Their clientele has been characterized as "dentists from New Jersey."

The second wave of fixer-uppers must satisfy the building codes and permits that the first wave probably ignored.

Whether induced or spontaneous, once gentrification begins, the chain reaction tends to continue. The difficulty with any attempt to intervene, supposedly on behalf of low-income residents, is that urban gentrification is organic and self-fueling. Its motive force is great urbanism: well-proportioned streets, a good mix of activities in useful types of buildings, a certain architectural quality. These days the allure is all the stronger because good urban areas are rare. And this naturally boosts their market value. What spokesmen for the poor call gentrification is actually the timeless urban cycle of decay and rebirth as a free society naturally adjusts its habitat.

In any case, gentrification usually benefits the present owners. They receive better prices for their homes if they sell. If they remain, there is a general improvement in quality of life as a result of improved consumer services, higher tax bases, and the beneficial effects of middle-class vigilance over municipal services. The only losers may be the local community leaders and poverty advocates who fear their constituency is being diluted. The evidence: It is the leaders who complain of gentrification, rarely the residents themselves, who know they have much to gain.

The question is not whether affordable housing should be available. Of course it should. But it is necessary to distinguish between *creating* affordable housing and *retaining* it. Paradoxically, retaining affordable housing may be more difficult than creating it—which can be accomplished indirectly through subsidies for the private sector, directly through government public works, or gradually through the aging of buildings that cease to fit today's lifestyles. The market provides affordable housing in the form of older, unfashionable building stock. Cities with such older housing typically serve as portals for immigrants. A "Chinatown" or "Little Havana" is an economic incubator where affordable housing exists in its ideal form: as the "old neighborhood" eventually to be fondly recalled by the foes of gentrification. Such neighborhoods are not destined, however, to remain affordable forever. If they were originally built for the middle-class, their inherent quality will ultimately, after a down cycle, attract gentrifiers. Most old neighborhoods experiencing revival are only recovering their intrinsic value and reverting to their origins, not being "taken away" from the poor.

Can anything be done to prevent existing housing from becoming expensive? Yes, but it's very difficult. To begin with, it's not easy for people to agree on making affordability a political objective. People sell their property willingly in the open market, and they reap a higher price after gentrification gets under way. If their right to enjoy the fruits of the market is rescinded, owners will react violently. Artificially restraining resale value solely to keep housing low-priced is unfair to poor homeowners. Life is unfair enough for low-income people without their well-intentioned overseers denying them their just profits.

People know this. In one neighborhood of small houses that was supposedly intent on fighting gentrification, our firm was asked to avert a sharp rise in housing prices. So we dutifully proposed limiting the size of buildings, based on their lot size. The measure we recommended would have prevented the existing houses from being enlarged enough to accommodate yuppie expectations. Additional family rooms, megabathrooms, and superclosets would have been impossible. When the price-depressing effect of this limitation became clear, public posturing soon disappeared; the participants in the planning process would have none of it. The proposal suffered rejection by acclamation. Only those who were unaffected—activists from outside the neighborhood—were surprised at the outcome.

To allow some of the existing residents to remain in the neighborhood, we then proposed subtler techniques, such as permitting one or two ancillary units to be built behind an existing small house. These new units could be rented out. We also wrote new codes to allow small-scale services, such as caring for a few elderly persons, taking in laundry, or minding children—the type of income-generating businesses that already crop up throughout poor neighborhoods illegally. Such businesses are part of the mutual support system that was dismantled in the federally sponsored demolition of urban housing in the '60s and '70s, and that was eliminated from redevelopment areas when suburban-style zoning codes were imposed—inappropriately—on the traditional city.

But the question remains: Can anything be done to prevent gentrification? Yes, there is one proven technique that holds down prices: Give people bad design. Because gentrification is essentially a process of real estate seeking its proper value, the places that revive are inherently attractive enough to be sought out by the affluent. The places that resist gentrification are those where the housing is poorly designed or the quality of the urban space is mediocre. Thus the most surefire technique for permanently preventing gentrification is to provide dismal architectural and urban design.

The federal government inadvertently tested and proved this

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principle in two periods of the twentieth century. During World War I the U.S. Housing Corporation built 55 projects in cities where the defense industry needed more workers. The housing, though inexpensive, consisted of traditional houses and rowhouses skillfully designed by first-rate architects. Today, most of that housing is still in good shape, much of it having gentrified over the years. In stark contrast, in the 1960s the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) produced housing designed in accordance with then-fashionable socialist models, which our modernist architects admired in Europe. Most of that housing rapidly decayed, and it persists in its decay despite multiple renovations over the years. (For the record, this brand of housing has fared just as badly in Europe.)

A side-by-side comparison of this phenomenon can be seen in a pair of housing projects in Bridgeport, Connecticut. One project, Seaside Village, is a delightful little community, now more than 80 years old and in perfect condition. The other, barracks-like Marina Village, was built a few decades later and most of it is trashed. Modernist design, sadly, has become a proven technique for keeping housing in the hands of the poor.

"Affordable" housing has been more successful when constructed in traditional forms—the very opposite of the experimental 1960 "projects" that self-destructed and are now being demolished by public housing authorities. But provision of even this kind of affordable housing is vehemently opposed today by the middle-class. Is this simple prejudice? Is it reasonable fear of crime? Statistics do show a relationship between crime and poverty; so it's difficult to argue that opposition to low-income housing is simply prejudiced.

To begin to solve this, we have to recognize that the manner in which affordable housing is provided can cause problems. If low-income housing is built in large groupings, as it usually is, people are not wrong in fearing it. To be socially sustainable, housing for low-income people must come in small increments. Ten percent is a good rule: imagine two townhouses among a row of 20 and you can deduce that this is imperceptible—particularly if the buildings are architecturally indistinguishable from middle-class housing.

In Montgomery County, Maryland, the county gives builders strong incentives to sprinkle affordable units among new middle-class subdivisions. The subsidized housing is kept to a low ratio of the overall development, and it looks like the market-rate housing nearby. This program seems to work well; we designed one such project, Wyndcrest, in Sandy Spring, Maryland, and can attest to its success.

You might wonder why, if there is such a strong need for it, our market-driven economy is not providing affordable housing. One answer is that America's housing market is not free. It is trammeled by building and planning bureaucracies that obstruct its smooth operation.

In the past, people would build for themselves. There was a self-help system that created housing through sweat equity; by this method the continent was colonized. But there are now myriad regulations that, in the name of eliminating bad housing, have inadvertently eliminated the supply of inexpensive housing. Today only licensed professionals can design, permit, and build housing. Bureaucratic friction thus makes housing for the poor available only with artificial supports. The possibility of housing oneself has been taken away from the individual and has become the responsibility of government or charitable organizations—another instance of government solving a problem that was created by government itself.

Gentrification rebalances a concentration of poverty by providing the tax base, rub-off work ethic, and political effectiveness of a middle class, and in the process improves the quality of life for all residents.

It's worth noting that there do exist certain "code-free" zones, where government looks aside while regular people make underused places habitable for themselves. That's how the "risk-oblivious" broke into the housing market in SoHo in the '60s. A similar method could be followed in many older American cities where the upper stories of commercial buildings are underused or abandoned. Those floors are empty because, to renovate them, the building codes require a thorough upgrading to current code standards.

Much would-be affordable housing is illegal because it lacks a few inches of stair width or fails to conform to some other ideal. A more sensible application of building codes would stipulate that if a building satisfies the code that was in force when the building was originally constructed, the building cannot be forced to meet new code requirements when renovated. This simple rule change would facilitate renovation of old housing stock at reasonable prices by eliminating unnecessary and expensive "upgrading to code." New Jersey has such a law, and it has contributed to the spectacular comebacks of Jersey City and Hoboken.

So what is the fuss over gentrification about? Many times it's just the squawking of old neighborhood bosses who can't bear the self-reliance of the incoming middle-class, and can't accept the dilution of their political base. But theirs is a swan song. Middle-class Americans are choosing to live in many inner-city neighborhoods because these places possess urbane attributes not found in newer residential areas, and this flow cannot be regulated away.

The only permanent solution to overpricing as a result of gentrification is to build new urban development in the time-tested forms, so that our older neighborhoods don't become overvalued through scarcity. We must create more traditional neighborhoods, and less sprawling modernism. Forget a narrow focus on affordability. We can make room for people of modest means by avoiding rigid rules and controls which make it harder for them to house themselves. And finally, people should not be prevented from profiting on the natural appreciation of their neighborhoods. Not in America.

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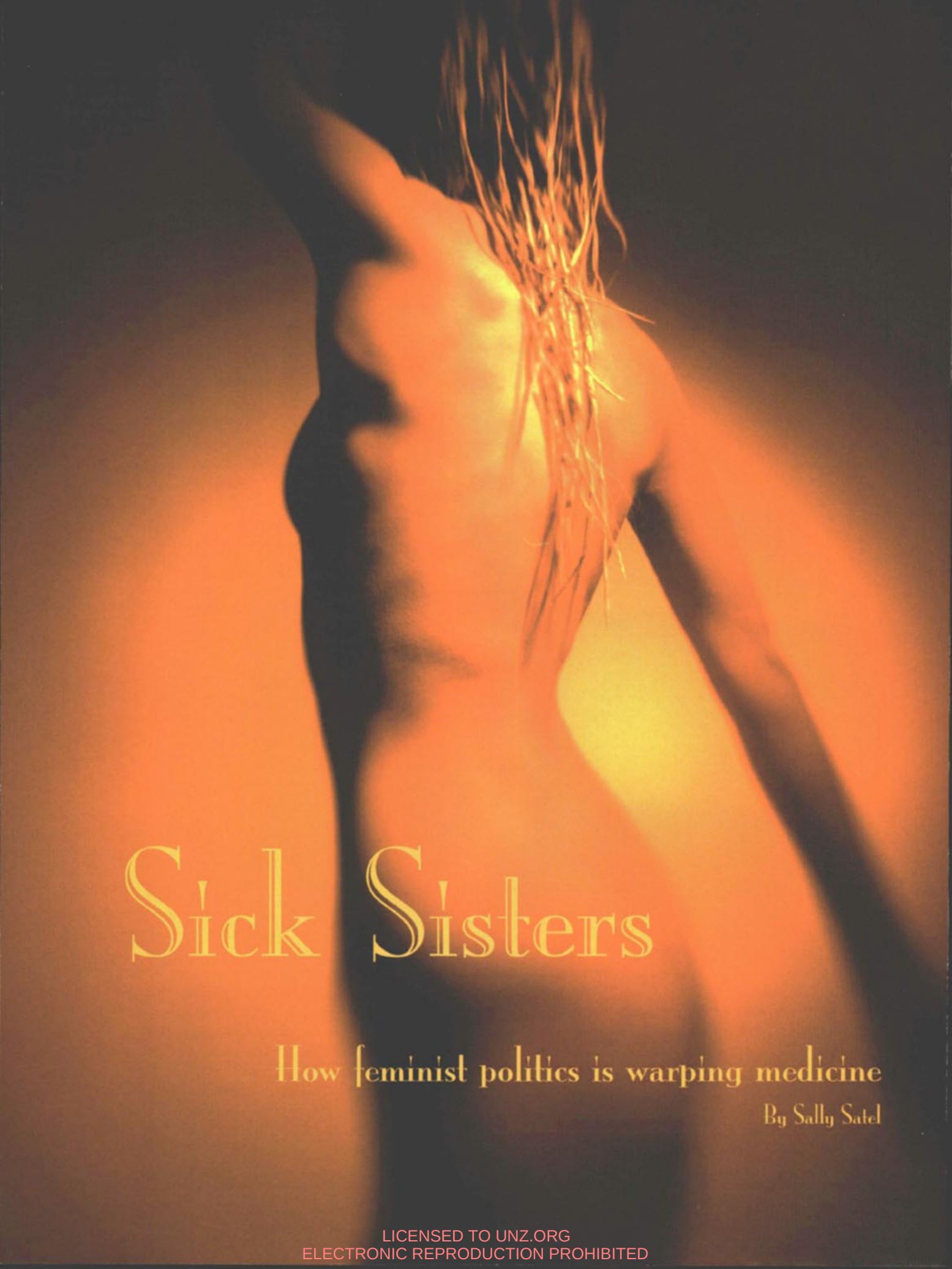

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We are now on the threshold of politically correct medicine. P.C. health care is powered by the idea that injustice produces disease, and that political empowerment is the cure. It is a false promise.

Though the activists behind politically correct medicine appear to be fighting for better health, their actions do not prevent disease, alleviate symptoms, or perfect treatments. At best, they create distractions and waste money; at worst, they interfere with effective diagnosis and doctoring. Although the agitators themselves may end up feeling better for having taken part in a "social justice" movement, they undermine the Hippocratic ideal of putting patients first. Instead, P.C. medicine puts ideology first.

According to Patricia Ireland, president of the National Organization for Women, the toxicity of women's breasts will be one of the major political issues of the new millennium. "There are hundreds of synthetic chemicals in breast milk," Ireland pronounced recently on Capitol Hill. "We are poisoning the earth, and women are dying because of it." About 60 women's and health advocacy organizations joined with Ireland to demand more federal funding for diseases that are supposedly killing more and more women. "The evidence—and our bodies—continue to pile up," claim the advocates. A male-dominated medical system, they say, systematically slights America's females. "Women are invisible in the health care system beyond their reproductive systems. The medical model using male science, male body, male culture is still the norm. Women die unnecessarily due to this male perspective," asserts the Foundation for Women's Health.

The foundation's goal is to create a specialty in "women's health" similar to surgery or pediatrics. The American College of Women's Health Physicians is lobbying for the same thing. "Those of us who were exposed to Women's Studies in college find Women's Health a very natural transition and progression," writes Kelley Phillips, president of the college.

It may seem odd that women would need their own specialty. For most doctors (except urologists and orthopedists), treating women patients is the norm, since women make greater use of health care services than men do. Women are especially overrepresented in the age groups that rely most heavily on medical services—the elderly. Indeed, apart from the urological problems that beset old men, geriatrics could reasonably be said to be a woman's specialty, because there are more than two women for every man over age 85.

Nonetheless, the Office of Women's Health at the Department of Health and Human Services (HHS) has been promoting a separate medical school curriculum in women's health. "Curricula in women's health should begin to erase the misconceptions caused by a generation of training physicians in the male model of disease," explains HHS official Elena V. Rios.

These calls for special treatment are rooted in the belief that women are second-class citizens in medicine. Hillary Rodham Clinton complained while First Lady about the "appalling degree to which women were routinely excluded from major clinical trials of most illnesses." During his presidential campaign Al Gore told an audience: "Throughout my career, I have fought for more research funds for those diseases so recently considered less important because they befell only women, such as breast cancer. I pledge to you: Women's health will always be at the top of my agenda."

It is hard to imagine what more Gore could do. Women represented 62 percent of the more than six million participants in ongoing National Institutes of Health-funded research in the latest year. Breast cancer research has received more money than any other type of cancer research each year since 1985, when the National Cancer Institute began keeping track of disease-specific funding. It has always received many times the funding of prostate cancer—about five times the amount in 1997, and triple the expenditure in 1999—even though the incidence of breast cancer in women is less than the incidence of prostate cancer in men. In the latest year's data, 115 women per 100,000 received a diagnosis of invasive breast cancer, compared to 147 men per 100,000 for prostate cancer. Overall death rates are almost identical (though breast cancer victims tend to be younger).

Breast cancer also receives considerable funding compared to other diseases. A 1999 analysis in the *New England Journal of Medicine* calculated that according to the number of years of healthy life lost to a disease, breast cancer was among the five conditions most "generously" funded (the other four were heart disease, dementia, AIDS, and diabetes).

The enormous focus on breast cancer by women's health groups has skewed American women's health fears. Activists have popularized the idea that "one out of every nine" women will get breast cancer. Actually, a 40-year-old woman with no special risk factors has less than a 1-in-200 chance of getting breast cancer, and an even smaller likelihood of dying from it.

Only one in four women recognize that lung cancer is the leading cancer killer among females today. In 1997, about 70,000 women died from lung cancer; fewer than 42,000 died from breast cancer. And the biggest killer of all among women is not cancer at all, but rather heart disease—annual deaths from heart disease exceed deaths from all cancers *combined*. Less than 4 percent of women will die of breast cancer, while about one-third will die of heart disease.

Physician and American Enterprise Institute fellow Sally Satel is a lecturer at the Yale School of Medicine. This is adapted by the editors from her new book PC, M.D.

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To say that mainstream medicine caters to men is ludicrous. Women visit doctors much more often than men.

Elaine Ratner, author of *The Feisty Woman's Breast Cancer Book,* is worried that the "fear of breast cancer has reached epidemic proportions, because breast cancer has moved into the spotlight." Having been treated for cancer herself, Ratner says she feels lucky that it was in her breast. "No other body part is as expendable," she writes. But she suspects that many women forgo mammography because their inflated idea of breast cancer's lethality scares them away.

Women's health has recently been a favorite cause in Congress. Dozens of women's health bills were introduced just in the last two years. Free pap smears and mammograms have been made available; minimum hospital stay lengths have been dictated by law; postmastectomy reconstructive surgery has been mandated; the Women's Health and Cancer Rights Act ensures coverage for second opinions and other assurances.

In its 1999 report to Congress and the President, the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights expressed concern about "gender bias" in our health care system. The commission accused medical schools of steering female medical students "toward the more 'accepted' specialties such as pediatrics and general practice," while men are "more likely to enter the richly rewarding surgical subspecialties." The commission presented no evidence whatever for this claim, however, and a fuller picture shows that many women doctors who want to have a family are attracted to specialties with the shortest residencies (family practice, internal medicine, pediatrics, and psychiatry). Surgical subspecialty training after medical school can take up to seven years at a time of life when women are in their prime childbearing years. The culture of surgery, with its brutal hours and strict hierarchy, may not appeal to many women, but those who burn to be surgeons will make it through. And female surgeons are highly sought after by both employers and patients, especially those with breast disease.

The Commission on Civil Rights also leveled a charge of sexism in medical research funding. Noting that women received 22 percent of all research project funding from the National Institutes of Health between 1981 and 1992, and that their grants were, on average, $30,000 lower than grants given to male scientists, the commissioners called this "a blatant civil rights violation." The federal government "must mandate that female scientists are awarded grants at the same ratio as men," they concluded.

Remarkably, these accusers possessed no evidence that quality proposals from women were being rejected at a greater rate than comparable proposals from men. The commission was simply advocating, in effect, that grants be distributed according to the applicant's sex rather than the merit of the proposed research. Ironically, the most recent data show that the percentage of female applicants winning grants (18.3 percent) is actually higher than the percentage of male applicants who succeed (17.1 percent).

The Commission on Civil Rights also alleges that women have been systematically excluded from clinical trials for new medicines and therapies. Many other women's health activists have pushed this same claim, and they've had political effects. "It was my female colleagues and I who led the charge to put an end to clinical trials conducted entirely on men—even for breast cancer," Senator Olympia Snowe (R-Maine) proudly states.

The topic makes great media fodder. "Government-funded Studies Deny Women Key Health Data" was the headline on a May 2000 *USA Today* editorial. "The habit of overlooking women in medical research is deeply ingrained and hard to shake," it pontificated. "For decades, women have been alternatively ignored or overprotected. And the research hierarchy is still largely dominated by the interests and concerns of white males."

In reality, this whole contention is a myth. As Andrew Kadar, an anesthesiologist at the UCLA School of Medicine, points out, those studies that have looked more at one sex than another usually focused on *women* rather than men. That is certainly the case with antidepressants. One of the largest and earliest studies I could find involved 215 subjects—*most* of whom were women (or "housewives," as the 1950s authors called them). Nevertheless, women's health advocates routinely claim, without evidence, that the hormonal fluctuations brought on by women's menstrual cycles led researchers to bar them from antidepressant research.

Have women ever been systematically omitted from clinical trials? Yes, starting in 1977, the Food and Drug Administration excluded pregnant and fertile women from participating in the toxicity testing of pharmaceuticals. The policy, withdrawn in 1993, evolved in the wake of the birth defect tragedies associated with thalidomide and diethylstilbestrol (DES). Women were excluded from the safety-testing phases of pharmaceutical trials to protect fetuses and, to some extent, avoid liability. Though the policy deserved its label of paternalistic, the point was to protect women and babies, not to favor men at their expense. Indeed, men themselves have not been rushing to volunteer for toxicity tests; why else would so many of the subjects who sign up be men from military bases and prisons?

Overall, government surveys have found that "both sexes had substantial representation in clinical trials, in proportions that usually reflected the prevalence of the disease in the sex and age groups included in the trials." Conditions such as depression, osteoporosis, and arthritis have always been *more* thoroughly studied among women—which should come as no surprise, since researchers tend to study the group most at risk. The Office of Research on Women's Health at NIH, created to respond to just

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these concerns, found that research subjects for NIH clinical trials funded in 1997 were 69 percent women and 31 percent men.

Still, as late as 1999 advocates like Phyllis Greenberger of the Society for Women's Health Research continued to make remarks like, "It's going to take some time before it's generally accepted that women and men have to be in clinical trials." In the spring of 2000 I received a promotional letter from the *Harvard Women's Health Watch* newsletter telling readers that "nearly all drug testing has been done on men." What will it take to convince these activists of the truth?

Advocates also claim that certain specific medical procedures are evidence of the devaluation of women's health. For instance, the treatment of breast cancer with mastectomy. In her 1999 book *A Darker Ribbon,* Ellen Leopold, a member of the Women's Community Cancer Project in Cambridge, Massachusetts, opines,

> The surgical removal of the breast has to be seen as a violent act. The apparent barbarity of the procedure raises the question of male intent. It is not much of a stretch to view surgery as yet another opportunity to punish a woman for the ambivalent feelings she provokes. The aura surrounding breast surgery reinforced the worst gender stereotypes, attributing all power to the male hero.

Today we know that radical mastectomy is not necessary for most women. But before the late 1970s and early 1980s it was the accepted lifesaving procedure. A surgeon who did not perform it would have been considered derelict. In hindsight, we can see that many women underwent needlessly aggressive surgery, but there wasn't a gender bias: Men too have been subject to the radical nature of cancer surgery. Thousands of men with positive blood tests as their only sign of possible prostate cancer have undergone needless radical prostatectomies, sometimes involving the removal of pelvic nerves, which destroys the ability to perform sexually. Then, if metastases appeared, men were castrated, since testosterone seemed to promote cancer growth.

In a response to Leopold's feminist interpretation of breast cancer, Jerome Groopman, an oncologist and professor of medicine at Harvard, asks, "Does this mean that urological surgeons were, consciously or subconsciously, acting out as alpha males to dominate and abase the vulnerable men of the tribe?" The development of more conservative operations for both women and men is a continuing priority for physicians, but surgical practice must not be taken out of its historical context.

Contrary to what ideologues ranging from Clinton administration Secretary of Health and Human Services Donna Shalala on down have maintained, there is no women's health crisis today. Women's health research is first-rate. Women are well represented in the ranks of health care administrators. Female consumers have enormous influence in the medical marketplace. In 1999 at least 3,600 programs across the country called themselves women's health centers. There are few comparable centers for men.

To say that mainstream medicine caters to men is ludicrous. Women visit doctors much more often than men. Pharmaceutical companies are advertising vigorously to women. In many specialties women physicians are in high demand. And at the end of the century, 44 percent of the entering class in our medical schools were women.

But some will always portray women as deprived no matter what. Except for the tiny Office of Research on Women's Health, "the whole rest of the National Institutes of Health is the men's office," claims Marianne Legato, who directs the Partnership for Women's Health.

Apparently, such partisans count only the portion of the NIH budget earmarked for diseases specific to women as beneficial to females. But by that barometer, less than 7 percent of medical funding goes to male diseases. So at least 93 percent goes to diseases that affect either women only or both sexes. Pitting the well-being of women against men in this way is not only petty but—considering that women outlive men by six years—rather absurd.

Women are hurt by the half-truths disseminated by the women's health movement and by the righteous indignation it seeks to provoke. People worry needlessly. Patients clamor for procedures that ultimately do them more harm than good. Medical relationships are contaminated with distrust. "When I give lectures on the doctor-patient relationship to physicians, many of the overworked doctors—male *and* female—comment on how frustrating it is to deal with women who come into their office with an attitude of 'Prove that you're not going to take advantage of me,'" says Edward Bartlett, associate adjunct professor at the George Washington University School of Public Health.

Assuredly, there is more to know about the treatment of diseases in women. But it is wrongheaded to confuse the need to know more—an imperative that will always be with us—with the unwarranted and poisonous notion that women are somehow second-class subjects in the world of medicine.

Breast cancer research has received more money than any other type of cancer research since authorities began keeping track.

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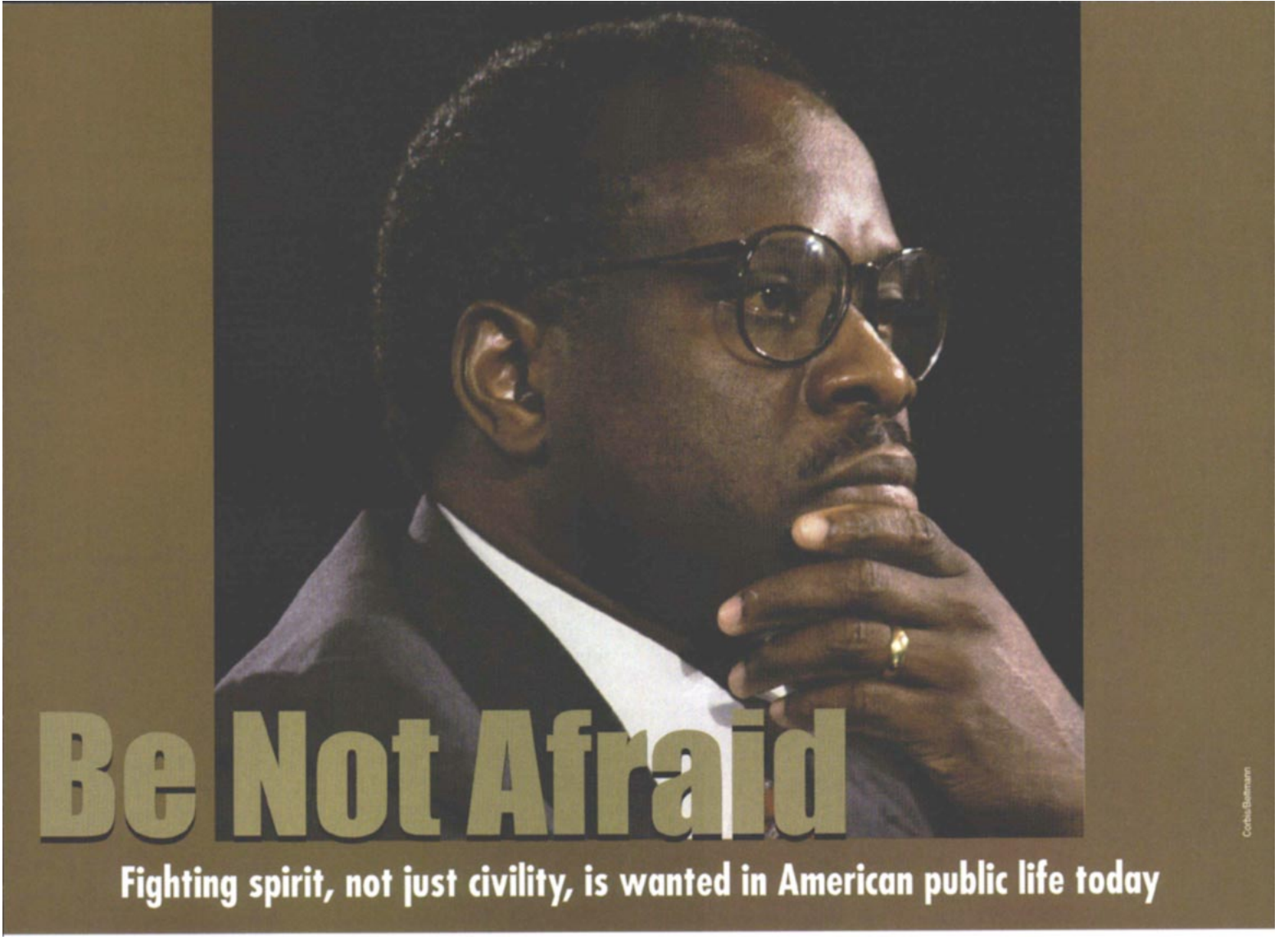

Be Not Afraid

Fighting spirit, not just civility, is wanted in American public life today

By Clarence Thomas

When I first arrived in Washington, D.C., I thought there would be deep discussions of principles and policies in this city. I expected great debates in the Senate. I expected citizens to candidly and passionately deliberate over what was happening in our country, and to suggest new paths.

I was disabused of this heretical notion in December 1980, when I was unwittingly candid with a young *Washington Post* reporter. He exposed my naive openness in his column about our discussion. I had raised what I thought were legitimate objections to a number of sacred policies—such as affirmative action, welfare, school busing—policies that I felt were not serving their intended beneficiaries well. In reaction I was called names such as I had never been called in my life. I was shocked.

Why were these policies beyond question? What or who placed them off limits? Wasn't it useful for those who felt strongly about these problems and wanted to solve them to have a point of view and to be heard? Sadly, in most forums of public dialogue in this country, the answer on many subjects is no.

On difficult issues such as race there is often no real debate or honest discussion at present. Those with unorthodox views are subjected to intimidation. If you question Washington's conventional wisdom you had better be willing to endure attacks that range from hostile to libelous. The temptation is to retreat, to trim one's sails.

But that is unilateral withdrawal from the field of combat. And an argument diluted to avoid criticism is not nearly as useful as the undiluted argument, because truth is best arrived at through a process of honest and vigorous debate. Arguments should not sneak around in disguise. Dissent should not be treated as sinister.

And people should not be cowed by criticism. Those who challenge accepted wisdom in debates of consequence should expect to be treated badly. Nonetheless, they must stand undaunted. That is required, for bravery is necessary to secure freedom.

Much emphasis these days is placed on who has the quickest tongue, and who looks best on television. Hence, a proliferation of public relations professionals and spin doctors. But this is madness. No car has ever crashed into a mirage. No imaginary army has ever invaded a country.

Nor is high philosophy enough. Obviously, it is important we have ideas and intellect. But it does no good to argue ideas with those who will respond as brutes. Works of genius have often been smashed and burned, and geniuses have sometimes been treated no better.

But there is much wisdom that requires no genius. It takes no education to know that it is best for children to be raised in two-parent families. Yet, those who dare say this are often accused of trying to impose their values on others. This condemnation

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does not rest on some great body of counterevidence; it is purely and simply a personal attack. It is, in short, intimidation, an attempt to create the silence of self-censorship.

must not allow our desire to be well-mannered to overwhelm the substance of our principles or our determination to fight for their success.

In September 1975, the *Wall Street Journal* published a review by Michael Novak of Thomas Sowell's book, *Race and Economics.* The opening paragraph changed my life. It reads:

> Honesty on questions of race is rare in the United States. So many and unrecognized have been the injustices committed against blacks that no one wishes to be unkind, or subject himself to intimidating charges. Hence, even simple truths are commonly evaded.

This insight applies with equal force to many other subjects today. Who wants to be denounced as a heartless monster? On too many crucial matters, silence is enforced. The objective of the nasty responses is to limit the range of the debate, the number of dissenters, and the size of the audience. Realizing that if they don't sanitize their message they'll face *ad hominem* attacks, many people conclude it's not worth the trouble to speak up.

Is it worth it? If one just wants to tread water until the next vacation, perhaps not. These are not trivial matters, though, as the ferocity of our critics' headhunting demonstrates. And there are things more important than our comfort. Duty, honor, country—there was a time when all was set aside for these. The plow was left idle, the hearth without fire, the homestead abandoned.

During my youth there were many wonderful sayings, now considered trite, that provided cryptic yet prescient guidance for my life. Among them was one based on Luke 12:48: "To whom much is given, of him much is required." I believe we are required to wade into those things that matter to our country and our culture, no matter what the personal cost.

In the spring of 1980, I received a call asking if I had any interest in going to the Office for Civil Rights in the Department of Education. Until then, for the good of my career, I had assiduously avoided any work that was related to civil rights, and frankly I had no interest in such a position. Then a dear friend of mine, Jay Parker, spoke to me, insisting that these issues were of great importance to me, and that I had a point of view that should be part of the policy debate.

Still, I didn't want to be the one arguing publicly for policies that would raise the ire of the civil rights establishment. I had gotten a taste of that in the *Washington Post* column. Also, I was insulted that I was being offered the job for no reason other than my race. Yet Jay Parker's final words of advice to me were compelling: "Put up or shut up."

Today, there is much talk about moderation. It reminds me of a former colleague at the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission who often joked that he was a "gun-toting moderate"—ready to die over half a loaf. I do not believe one should fight over things that don't really matter. But what about things that *do* matter?

There can be an overemphasis on civility. No matter how difficult it is, good manners should be routine. However, in the effort to be civil in conduct, many who know better water down their views to avoid appearing "judgmental." They curb their tongues not only in form but also in substance. The insistence on civility can have the perverse effect of cannibalizing our principles. That is why civility cannot be the governing principle of citizenship or leadership.

Gertrude Himmelfarb refers to two kinds of civic virtues. The first are the "caring" virtues, including "respect, trustworthiness, compassion, fairness, decency." These make daily life pleasant with our families and those with whom we come in contact. The second are the vigorous virtues. They include courage, ambition, and creativity. These heroic virtues "transcend family and community and may even, on occasion, violate the conventions of civility. These are the virtues that characterize great leaders, although not necessarily good friends."

She notes that the vigorous virtues have been supplanted by the caring ones. Though they are not mutually exclusive or necessarily incompatible, active citizens and leaders must be governed by the vigorous as well as the caring virtues. We must not allow our desire to be decent and well-mannered to overwhelm the substance of our principles or our determination to fight for their success.

By yielding to a false form of "civility," we sometimes allow our critics to intimidate us. Active citizens are often subjected to truly vile attacks; they are branded as mean-spirited, racist, Uncle Tom, homophobic, sexist, etc. When we retreat from this it is not civility. It is cowardice.

Pope John Paul II has traveled the entire world challenging tyrants of all sorts, speaking to millions of people, bringing them a single, simple message: "Be not afraid." He preached this message to people living under Communist tyranny in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Nicaragua, and China— "Be not afraid." He preached it to Africans facing death from marauding tribes and murderous disease— "Be not afraid." He preached it to Americans, warning us how easy it is to be trapped in a "culture of death" even in our luxurious country— "Be not afraid."

Those three little words hold the power to transform individuals and change the world. They can supply the quiet resolve and unvoiced courage necessary to endure the inevitable intimidation. Listen to the truths that lie within your hearts, and be not afraid to follow them wherever they may lead you.

We are not called upon to risk our lives against some monstrous tyranny, because America is not a barbarous country. Our people are not oppressed, and we face no pressing international threat to our way of life such as the Soviet Union once posed. The war in which we are now engaged is cultural, not civil.

Yet today, as in the past, our Republic needs bravery and civic virtue, not timid civility, if it is to remain strong. So I leave you with the simple exhortation: "Be not afraid."

Clarence Thomas is a Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court. This is adapted from his Francis Boyer Lecture to the American Enterprise Institute, February 13, 2001.

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Transcript

WORDS WORTH REPEATING

Compassionate Conservatism Doesn't Stop at the Water's Edge

From a speech to the American Enterprise Institute by Senate Foreign Relations Committee chair Jesse Helms, January 11, 2001:

One of our first priorities will be to assist President Bush in implementing his vision of "compassionate conservatism." Allow me to explain.

During the campaign, George Bush outlined a philosophy of empowering private and religious institutions to help the neediest Americans: Government "can't put hope in our hearts or a sense of purpose in our lives.... Often when a life is broken, it can only be rebuilt by another caring, concerned human being. Someone whose actions say, 'I love you, I believe in you, I'm in your corner.' ...In every instance where my administration sees a responsibility to help people, we will look first to faith-based institutions, charities, and community groups that have shown their ability to save and change lives.... We will rally the armies of compassion in our communities to fight a very different war against poverty and hopelessness.... This will not be the failed compassion of towering, distant bureaucracies.... It will be government that takes the side of the faith- based organizations and private charities who are helping change lives, one person at a time."

I submit to you, my friends, that this "compassionate conservative" vision must not stop at the water's edge.

One of the faith-based institutions President Bush admires is a remarkable organization in my state with which I have been involved—a North Carolina foundation called "Samaritan's Purse." Samaritan's Purse is led by the Reverend Franklin Graham, son of Dr. Billy Graham, and I believe this organization does more good, with less money, for more people around the world than the entire U.S. foreign aid bureaucracy.

For instance, in southern Sudan, where a brutal civil war is tearing a nation apart, Samaritan's Purse runs hospitals and clinics which—despite repeated bombings by government forces—provide desperately needed medical services to suffering people. In a town called Lui, Samaritan's Purse operates an 80-bed hospital which has treated more than 100,000 patients—some of whom walk for days to get care. More than 40 bombs were dropped on the area in March and April last year, and they were bombed again just this week. But the hospital has remained open, and Franklin Graham reports the brave doctors and nurses have saved more than 10,000 lives.

Samaritan's Purse has similar projects in more than 100 countries. In Kosovo, their volunteers have distributed food and medicine, counseled families, and rebuilt at least 800 houses. In Central America, after Hurricane Mitch wreaked havoc across the region, they rebuilt more than 5,000 homes.

This is incredible work, and Samaritan's Purse is far from alone. Their work is complemented every day by equal efforts of groups such as Catholic Relief Services, World Vision, Save the Children, Hadassah, and many others who are changing lives around the world "one person at a time."

These are the "armies of compassion" Mr. Bush is talking about. If we can deploy them across America, we can and must deploy them across the world. The time has come to reject what Bush correctly labels the "failed compassion of towering, distant bureaucracies" and, instead, empower private and faith-based groups who care most about those in need.

The principle at work here is found in the Christian doctrine of "subsidiarity." Pope John Paul II puts it this way: "Primary responsibility" for helping those in need "belongs not to the State, but to individuals and to the various groups and associations which make up society." By "intervening directly and depriving society of its responsibility," government produces "a loss of human energies and an inordinate increase of public agencies, which are dominated more by bureaucratic ways of thinking than by concern for serving their clients."

Not since Ronald Reagan and John Paul II took on Soviet communism have a Pope and a President been so much on target together on such an important issue.

Too often, however, faith-based charities are dismissed by the U.S. foreign aid bureaucracy. For example, my good friend Father Angelo D'Agositino, a Jesuit priest who runs an orphanage for children suffering from HIV/AIDS in Nuyumbani, Kenya, approached the U.S. Agency for International Development for help. USAID turned him down. Since most of the babies he was helping would eventually die, his project—by definition—did not meet their criteria for "sustainable" development.

I've got news for the AID bureaucrats: What is not sustainable is their cold, heartless, bureaucratic thinking. We must—I repeat, must—reform the way America helps those in need abroad. I intend to work with the Bush administration to replace AID with a new International Development Foundation whose mandate will be to deliver block grants to support the work of private relief agencies and faith-based institutions like Samaritan's Purse and Catholic Relief Services.

I have long opposed foreign aid programs that have lined the pockets of corrupt dictators. But if we can reform the way we deliver aid to the needy, if we can ensure the taxpayers' money goes to people like Franklin Graham and Father D'Agositino, rather than a wasteful federal bureaucracy—I will take the lead in supporting an *increased* U.S. investment in helping the world's neediest.

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In Real Life

FIRST-PERSON AMERICA

WEDDING BELL BLUES

By Blake Hurst

TARKIO, MISSOURI—I had planned on aging as a sort of gradual process, a graceful slide from the summer of my life through a rewarding fall, with winter somewhere far in the future. No sudden changes, just a slow decline into senescence with, finally, a gray and stooped version of me dispensing wisdom to my many grandchildren on the porch of our farm home, these wisdom dispensing sessions taking place mostly in the early fall, because that is the only time of year the weather is bearable here in the midwest. The rest of the year would be spent among the idle rich in more agreeable climes.

And I was doing O.K., at least until the spring of this year. Oh, yes, my hairline has been receding for a while, my waistline is expanding, and I'm grayer than I would like. But these changes have been gradual, and not unexpected. Recently, though, things started going down hill fast. It started when the morning paper became blurry. I found myself turning on the TV when I normally would have been reading, and finally realized I need bifocals. Then a trip to the doctor for a sinus infection led to not one but two prescriptions for blood pressure medication.

Finally, although grandchildren were in my future plans, I really wasn't prepared for the intermediate steps necessary to that goal. But I'm preparing myself now, because my daughter Ann, a senior in college, has announced that her boyfriend Matt will be joining us at a family gathering. And would like a chance to visit with me. Alone.

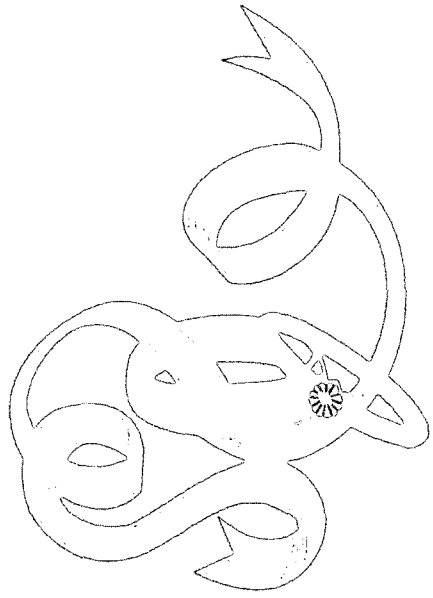
Now, I guess he could want to talk about the weather, or the prospects of his beloved Nebraska Cornhuskers. But I'm afraid the subject of our conversation is more likely to be my daughter's hand in marriage. Whoa, that was hard to type! I'm not ready for a discussion of such gravity.

Ann has clearly made the most important decision she will ever make, and the idea that my opinion would influence her is a humorous thought to anyone who knows her. Her beau's bow to tradition is appreciated, though, and as a prospective father-in-law, I will honor that tradition by observing all the formalities.

Still, as far as I'm concerned, Ann should be preparing for the big basketball game on Friday night, not shopping for rings. She should still be skinny, with crooked teeth and a mop of unruly hair, instead of tall, and beautiful, and preparing to move to who knows where with some stranger.

THE SUBJECT OF OUR CONVERSATION IS LIKELY TO BE MY DAUGHTER'S HAND IN MARRIAGE. WHOA, THAT WAS HARD TO TYPE!

It seems like just yesterday, or the day before, that we rushed her to the hospital as a baby with a scary bout of stomach flu, and spent the night trying to keep her attached to the I.V. line. Just a blink of an eye after that she exhibited the grand champion steer, won the award for best athlete in her class, and threw her retainer in the trash at McDonald's, resulting in the whole family taking part in dumpster-diving.



We have a picture of both our girls, at about ages six and five, by our bed, where I see it every night. They are squinting into the wind, looking into the distance, far past their dad. You can't freeze life like a snapshot, but I can't look at that picture without wondering where my life has gone. It is all happening entirely too fast, causing greater awareness on my part of passing time than could ever result from the more visible signs of aging.

I just want to tell the world to stop. But it won't of course, and shouldn't. Matt is a fine young man, Ann is mature and responsible, and I believe in marriage; so I should be happy. I can hardly argue that they are too young, since they are older than Julie and I were when we married. So, I *am* very happy. Matt has a very good job, and Ann will attend graduate school, with plans for the production of future repositories of grandfatherly wisdom.

Yup, I'm happy.

Really.

Blake Hurst has aged into a TAE *institution.*

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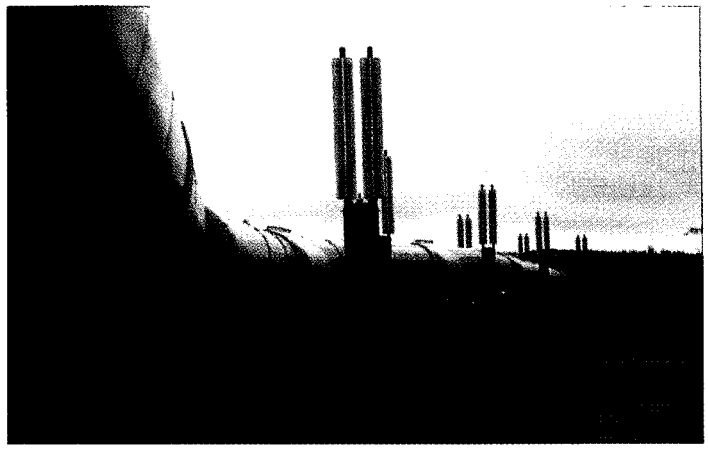
the Energy Economist

Running on Empty: Toward a New Energy Policy

By Diana Furchtgott-Roth



With higher gasoline, home heating oil, and utility prices, the prospect of natural gas shortages on the horizon, and rolling electrical brownouts in California, the election of President George W. Bush, former oil driller, and Vice President Dick Cheney, former CEO of an energy company supplier, comes at a fortuitous moment. It says something about our country's priorities, however, that these two men's experience in the energy industry was more frequently derided than praised during the presidential campaign.

For although Americans are the world's biggest consumers of energy, we are the only nation that purposely avoids self-sufficiency in energy. Much of the public looks down on energy production as a dirty business best kept out of sight. We're ashamed of our magnificent drilling rigs and refineries, and think of coal and nuclear energy as darkly dangerous. Reflecting this public taste, the federal government has raised numerous roadblocks to the development of our energy resources—with the result that we are now perilously vulnerable to energy shortages.

Although our economic growth and demand for energy have been substantial over the past quarter-century, our energy-producing capacity has declined dramatically. In the early 1970s, at the time of the oil embargo, we imported 36 percent of our oil; now we import almost 60 percent. In 1970, oil production peaked at 9.6 million barrels of oil per day; in 2000, production stands at 5.8 million. We haven't built a new oil refinery in a quarter-century, and we now have only 155 total, fewer than half the number we had in the 1970s.

And it's not just oil production that hasn't kept up with demand. Hydroelectric power has been declining, burdened with controls on water release levels and delays in federal re-licensing. Some dams have been closed. No new orders for nuclear power plants have been placed since 1978, and environmental wrangling has prevented the federal government from removing spent fuel from nuclear reactors as is desperately needed. Even though coal represents 90 percent of U.S. recoverable fossil energy reserves, no major coal-fired electricity generating stations are being built in the country—because regulatory restrictions by the Clinton administration discouraged both new construction and the modernization of older plants. That leaves natural gas, where imports from Canada have increased by an unsustainable 130 percent over the past decade to meet our demand.

Much of this has occurred because the U.S. has allowed environmental concerns to trump energy needs without sufficient consideration of the costs and benefits. In addition, economic sanctions against foreign countries have at times placed U.S. firms at a competitive disadvantage, reducing the supplies available from abroad.

These are problems we can solve over the next decade. By learning from past mistakes, we can implement an energy policy that focuses on developing our resources rather than one that relies on manna from heaven.

Mistake 1: Refusal to Develop Oil Sources. Oil supplies 40 percent of U.S. energy. Many federal properties throughout the U.S. contain potential major sources of oil, but are blocked from development by environmental demands. The trade-offs between oil exploration and ecological purity have lessened over the past decade, however, as exploration technology has become more sophisticated. There is now far less environmental disruption involved in sinking a well, as well as more oil extracted per well drilled.

Our most vital undeveloped oil resource is the small portion of Alaska's Arctic National Wildlife Refuge that holds up to 16 billion barrels of oil. This was set aside for potential oil and gas development, but an act of Congress is required for exploration to proceed. In 1995 Congress voted to allow exploration, but President Clinton vetoed the bill.

In 1998, areas were offered for lease near the National Petroleum Reserve, close to Alaska's Prudhoe Bay—which has supplied 25 percent of U.S. oil production since the '70s. But several sections where oil is likely to be found were excluded.

Over and over, our energy policy has blocked development of new resources. Only last January, Florida Governor Jeb Bush asked the Interior Department not to allow oil development in the eastern Gulf of Mexico.

Of course, even if we do produce U.S.

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oil at a more reasonable capacity, we will still depend on foreign sources. Hence, we need to apply continued pressure on OPEC to moderate their supply manipulations.

It would also help if we would stop applying trade sanctions so freely. The U.S. is currently enforcing sanctions against countries with over 10 percent of world oil production and 16 percent of estimated oil resources.

Mistake 2: Encouraging the Use of Natural Gas, Discouraging Production. Natural gas has become popular because it is invisible, odorless, and clean-burning. Its use has been encouraged in areas ranging from home heating to electricity-generating plants. Over the past decade, however, access to U.S. natural gas reserves has become more difficult. Of the 382 trillion cubic feet of natural gas reserves in the Rocky Mountains, for instance, about 137 TCF have been put off limits for environmentalist reasons.

Examples of increased restrictions on natural gas development in the Clinton administration include the Forest Service moratorium on new road construction and the new national monuments designated under the Antiquities Act. With a few executive orders, and no involvement from Congress, millions of acres have been locked away. Federal agencies have also used an expansive interpretation of the Endangered Species Act to delay and deny exploration permits. In one fell swoop in October 1999, President Clinton effectively put 20 percent of our national forests—more than 40 million additional acres—in a "don't touch" lock box.

Mistake Number 3: No New Refineries. As well as getting oil out of the ground, U.S. companies need to turn it into consumer products in their refineries. At 96 percent of capacity, U.S. refinery utilization is now dangerously tight. Over half of our refineries have closed over the past 20 years, none have been built, and total capacity has declined from 19 to 16 million barrels per day.

Refinery construction has been halted by environmental and aesthetic concerns; rectifying this mistake will be a vital challenge for the new administration. Even if we continue to rely on oil imports from abroad, we still need our own refineries, so NIMBY (not in my back yard) forces must be moderated.

Mistake Number 4: Different Regional Gasoline Reformulations. Environmental Protection Agency regulations now mandate different forms of gasoline in different regions. This makes it much harder to shift supplies around to match consumer demand. Pipelines have to carry different batches. Separate tankers are needed. Storage has become expensive and complicated.

This makes it harder for companies to respond to shortages of gasoline. If all gasoline were the same, a shortage in, say, the Midwest could lead to shipments from the South. But with the Midwest required to use a special type of reformulated gasoline in the summer, other supplies cannot be brought in. Instead, the price simply rises.

Some of the fuel requirements come at little regulatory benefit and substantial cost. For instance, in 2000, the EPA was attempting to reduce the sulfur in diesel fuel by 97 percent, whereas a 90 percent reduction would be far less costly and achieve the same level of emissions reduction. The higher standard comes at a cost of $4 billion, which discourages refineries from producing diesel fuel.

Another example is the federal oxygenate requirement for gasoline. Refiners meet this by adding the chemical MTBE to their fuel. This makes gasoline more costly and difficult to manufacture—and with no change in air quality. Even the EPA's Blue Ribbon Panel on Oxygenates agrees that the regulation should be eliminated. Now the EPA wants to replace MTBE with other chemicals, without a serious study re-evaluating the need for an oxygenate mandate in the first place.

Mistake Number 5: Imposing Costly Regulations That Go Beyond the Clean Air Act. After a 1993 proposal to tax fossil fuels failed in Congress, the Clinton administration chose to use environmental regulations to try to limit fossil fuel use. The 1990 Clean Air Act had given the EPA flexibility in setting and attaining air standards, a power the agency used to go far beyond anything mandated by the Act. This hurt both energy producers and consumers.

The EPA has *not* taken advantage language permitting it to consider energy effects in drafting emissions regulations. In a 1998 rule the agency demanded that nitrogen oxide emissions in the eastern U.S. be reduced by 85 percent. This will cost utilities $14 billion and increase power generation costs in the area by roughly $3 billion per year. Another rule imposes burdensome emissions-reduction demands on utilities when they maintain and modernize their equipment. This means the EPA is ironically encouraging plants to stick with older, less efficient technology, rather than risk the government's wrath.

Mistake Number 6: Signing the Kyoto Protocol. Scientific warnings in the 1970s of a coming ice age have more recently changed to alarms about global warming. In response, the Clinton administration agreed in 1997 to the U.N.-sponsored Kyoto Protocol, which would require us by 2010 to reduce greenhouse gas emissions to 7 percent below their 1990 levels. This treaty, if ratified by the Senate, could cost the economy $450 billion annually, with gasoline rising 66 cents a gallon and residential energy costs jumping 83 percent.

The U.S. would also be hurt in another way. Since approximately 130 developing countries (including China, India, Indonesia, and Brazil) have refused to sign the treaty and are exempt from its requirements, many U.S. industries would move production abroad to these locales.

More generally, the Kyoto goals are unattainable without doing serious damage to our standard of living. Although the treaty is unlikely to be ratified in today's Congress, it is important that the United States avoid moving toward its goals.

Over the last year the U.S. has experienced a number of serious energy shortages and a rash of higher prices for energy. Unless we reverse some of the mistakes outlined above, those unhappy events will continue. We're bearing the fruit of our previous leaders' decisions. With a new President, perhaps it's time to think things through again.

Diana Furchtgott-Roth is a resident fellow at the American Enterprise Institute.

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Flashback

TO KNOW NOTHING OF WHAT HAPPENED BEFORE YOU WERE BORN IS TO REMAIN EVER A CHILD—*Cicero*

Why Spring Ahead?

Before visiting slumberland on the evening of March 31, Americans will advance their timepieces by one hour and rewind the familiar ritual of Daylight Savings Time: spring ahead, fall back.

An extra hour of daylight on spring and summer nights: Who other than the odd crank could possibly oppose such beneficial clock-tinkering? One such crank was the Canadian novelist Robertson Davies, whose grumpy alter ego Samuel Marchbanks wrote, "I object to being told that I am saving daylight when I am doing nothing of the kind. I even object to the implication that I am wasting something valuable if I stay in bed after the sun has risen. As an admirer of moonlight I resent the bossy insistence of those who want to reduce my time for enjoying it. At the back of the Daylight Saving scheme I detect the boney, blue-fingered hand of Puritanism, eager to push people into bed earlier, and get them up earlier, to make them healthy, wealthy, and wise in spite of themselves."

Marchbanks was an acute detective. Benjamin Franklin, Mr. Healthy, Wealthy, and Wise himself, proposed a forerunner of Daylight Savings Time in a whimsical 1784 essay.

Through most of American history, men and women lived and loved and died on local time, pegged to the transit of the sun. Towns and cities kept their own time, and if the sun's position meant 12:15 in Rochester was 12:09 in Buffalo, so what?

Ah, but the trains must run on time.... Idiosyncratic local timekeeping was the bane of the rail barons. For them, decentralized chronometry was an evil worse than the Dalton Gang. So on November 18, 1883—"the day of two noons"—railroads and countless municipalities synchronized their collective watches all at once: Standard time was born.

Pockets of fierce resistance to standard time were found in flinty New England and across such states as Ohio, Kentucky, and Michigan. In *Keeping Watch: A History of American Time*, Michael O'Malley found that the standard-time holdouts were not "silly, backward, and provincial." Rather, what "each found puzzling, saddening, or infuriating was the assumption that time was arbitrary, changeable, susceptible to the whims of the railroads or defined by mere commercial expediency. Surely the world ran by higher priorities than railroad scheduling."

Surely it did not, editorialized *Railway Age*: "Why should any other places, big or small, be allowed to retain the obsolete fashion? Local time must go."

It went, in time, but the battle was rejoined in 1918, when the tribunes of Progress and Efficiency, led by Woodrow Wilson, imposed Daylight Savings Time. The stated purpose was to conserve coal in wartime. Farmers protested mightily, and Congress repealed DST at war's end, overriding Wilson's veto. (The farmer's "life and methods are more easily adjusted, I venture to think, than are those of the manufacturer and the merchant," Wilson lectured smugly.)

The 1919 repeal of DST marked the last victory for nature's steady tick. An Illinois congressman called the DST battle "a contest between the golf stick and hoe," as daylight-craving recreationists were pitted against farmers, rustics, and other sundialing sticks-in-the-mud. A Minnesota congressman called Daylight Savings Time the "pet of the professional class, the semi-leisure class, the man of the golf club and the amateur gardener, the sojourner at the suburban summer resort."

TOWNS USED TO KEEP THEIR OWN TIME, PEGGED TO THE TRANSIT OF THE SUN. SO 12:15 IN ROCHESTER WAS 12:09 IN BUFFALO.

Golf was the bogeyman of the time traditionalists. O'Malley writes that the game "symbolized the utter decadence that underlay the daylight saving movement." (The decadence lobby split when movie interests later campaigned against DST.)

World War II brought nationwide year-round Daylight Savings Time, but in the postwar years springing ahead was left to states and localities. This produced diversity, which also goes under the name confusion, until the Uniform Time Act of 1966 whipped recalcitrants into line. (Arizona, Hawaii, and parts of Indiana still refuse to adopt Daylight Savings Time, with no apparent damage to the republic.) Fittingly, the Department of Transportation administers time laws. The primary consideration in any request for transferring a locale to a different time zone is the "convenience of commerce."

So as we skip a predawn hour on this April Fool's Day, ask yourself a foolish question: Is it noon because of the sun's place in the sky, or is it noon because Washington says it is?

—Bill Kauffman

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Hollywood Hucksters Ambushed By Tiger

Culture and the arts have been "globalizing" for years now. In movies this has usually meant dumb Hollywood blockbusters invading foreign screens on the strength of their world-famous stars, gaudy special effects, and monstrous marketing campaigns. But last month the globalization of movies took an interesting turn when ten Academy Award nominations—the most ever for a foreign-language film—were lavished upon the Chinese-language import *Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon*.

Crouching Tiger is a visually stunning and highly romantic epic. But it has prospered almost by reversing the Hollywood formula for worldwide blockbusting. After all, this is a subtitled martial arts movie populated with unfamiliar Asian faces. Sony Pictures Classics has supported the film with a clever, word-of-mouth promotional plan more than with traditional marketing. And yet the film has managed to nestle its way into the hearts of American critics and audiences alike, landing on countless top-ten lists and knocking off *Life Is Beautiful* to become the United States' box-office champion of foreign-language cinema.

Strictly speaking, *Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon* is not so much a foreign film as a global film. Its main creative force is director Ang Lee, a native of Taiwan who attended college in America and stayed here to direct films such as *Sense and Sensibility* and *The Ice Storm*. He collaborated on both of those pictures with American James Schamus, an independent producer and screenwriter who also adapted the Chinese novel that *Crouching Tiger* is based on, with the help of Taiwanese screenwriters Wang Hui Ling and Tsai Kuo Jung. Add to this a trio of stars—Chow Yun Fat, Michelle Yeoh, and Zhang Ziyi—who hail from Hong Kong, Malaysia, and China, respectively. Top it off with a score written by Chinese composer Tan Dun and performed in part by Yo-Yo Ma, an Asian American who grew up in France, and you can see the true intercontinental cast of the creative crew behind this product.

Sony Picture Classics/Chan Kam Chuen

Take that, you celebrity worshiper.

This eclectic team has created a movie that shimmers with a sort of grand lyricism that's missing in most modern films. As it follows a pair of thoughtful warriors pursuing a politician's daughter who moonlights as a thief during the night, *Crouching Tiger* plays like an ancient oral fairy tale that's been transferred untarnished to the big screen. As themes concerning adolescence, friendship, and unrequited love emerge amid the outstretched vistas and dazzling, acrobatic fight sequences, the movie becomes a thrilling piece of entertainment that carries the pedigree of a classic.

With such rousing artistry, *Crouching Tiger* certainly lifts audiences spirits. And there are also off-screen reasons to be heartened by its success. If the film wins the Best Picture Oscar, it may herald the arrival of a new higher-toned movie market that Hollywood—with its shoddy products—should fear. The American movie industry has long assumed that it has the rest of the world at its beck and call. But *Crouching Tiger*, which has also been a phenomenal box-office success in England and elsewhere, may crack some of Hollywood's lazy certainties. Suddenly, the old formula of big stars heavily marketed in high concepts won't seem like such a sure thing. If audiences start to appreciate art instead of artifice, and ideas as much as images, Hollywood will really be in trouble.

A Best Picture upset by *Crouching Tiger* would certainly dent Hollywood's smug pride. But that is probably wishful thinking. The Academy Award voters, after all, are Hollywood insiders themselves, and they're not likely to rattle their own industry's confidence; so *Crouching Tiger* will likely have to be content with an Oscar for Best Foreign Language Picture.

But at least for now it's delightful to think that a bit of intelligent, artful rivalry from abroad is making the movie studio moguls nervous. After all, a little competition never hurt anybody. And it might even aid that great cause nursed wistfully by dreamers everywhere of making Hollywood a better and more inspiring place.

—Josh Larsen

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BookTalk

JACOB REB

By Robert Cheeks

The Jewish Confederates
By Robert N. Rosen
University of South Carolina Press,
517 pages, $39.95

The Jewish Confederates—Charleston, South Carolina attorney Robert Rosen's timely, well-sourced, and accurate record of Southern Jewry's participation in the War Between the States—will break against the walls of academia like the shot from a brace of well-placed Parrot rifles.

Among other things, the author shatters one of the more egregious myths of history: "That the 'Wandering Jew' was citizen of no country, that they were cowards and they were disloyal."

Rosen notes that there was no state- or church-sponsored anti-Semitism in the antebellum South. Jewish immigrants fleeing the pogroms and wars of Europe found "Palestine" in such remote places as South Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama. They were welcomed as neighbors, afforded the rights and privileges of freemen, and allowed to practice their religion. Rosen points out that the first Jewish senators were elected from the South even though fewer than 25,000 Jews lived in Dixie. And while anti-Semitism "was a fact of life in the nineteenth century," it was a prejudice that many Southerners did not embrace.

By contrast, Rosen documents virulent anti-Semitism in Massachusetts, where "the first known Jew in Boston was 'warned out' in the 1640s." When the war broke out in 1861, the Boston *Evening Transcript* blamed the Jews for secession.

Rosen writes that those Jews who established themselves in the South had "nowhere else in America...experienced such fullness of opportunity or achieved comparable political and social acceptance." Not only did Jews whose families had settled in the South in the eighteenth century flock to the Confederate banner, but recently arrived immigrants did so as well. And while many Jews, along with their neighbors, opposed secession, most shared the patriotism that was the trademark of Southern resistance.

Rosen shares the Lincolnite belief that the "Civil War was brought about by the dispute over slavery." He acknowledges, though, that "Some Jewish Confederates, like many of their Gentile comrades, fought for what they termed their 'liberty' and freedom, which included the right to own slaves." Rosen doesn't spend enough time on the causes of the war; it would have been interesting to know what the leading Jewish citizens of the South had to say about tariffs, states rights, federalism, and Lincoln's efforts at consolidating national power.

The author gives us an overview of two of the leading figures in Southern Jewry: David Levy Yulee and Confederate Secretary of State Judah Philip Benjamin. He is especially good on Secretary Benjamin's covert activities. Rosen profiles several Jewish soldiers who distinguished themselves on the field of battle and rose in rank, unimpeded by religious bias. In many cases Jewish bodies littered the fields of honor, their blood flowing alongside that of the Gentile soldiers under their command.

From primary sources, Rosen sketches the lives of Jewish Confederates in combat, the suffering of their families on the homefront, and the lengths many went to to maintain their "Jewishness." Commanders from Robert E. Lee to Thomas Waul had praise for their service.

ROSEN SKETCHES THE LIVES OF JEWISH CONFEDERATES IN COMBAT.

In 1866, in an effort to raise funds for a monument to the Jewish Confederate dead, the Hebrew Ladies Memorial Association of Richmond distributed this poignant appeal: "In time to come, when our grief shall have become, in a measure, silenced, and when the malicious tongue of slander, ever so ready to assail Israel, shall be raised against us, then, with feeling of mournful pride, will we point to this monument and say: 'There is our reply.'"

Robert Rosen's emendation to the American Jewish record is must reading not only for his co-religionists but for those who study the Civil War. In revealing the patriotism of Southern Jewry, Rosen has dealt a blow against bigotry.

Ohioan Robert Cheeks writes for Muzzleloader, Muzzle Blasts, *and various Civil War publications.*

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I LEFT MY HEART IN YERBA BUENA

By Clark Stooksbury

This Land Is Your Land: The Geographic Evolution of the United States
By Seymour Schwartz, Foreword by Barber Conable, Jr.
Abrams, 304 pages, $75

My home town of Knoxville is named for Henry M. Knox, who also gave his name to Fort Knox, Kentucky. Local historian Jack Neely describes him as a "plump, blandly competent Boston general in the American Revolution, then a Secretary of War who presided over no wars, a man who never came within a day's ride of Tennessee." My home state of Tennessee is named after the river, which was in turn named for an Indian town called Tinnasi. This odd combination of place names is not unusual in the American landscape, as Seymour Schwartz illustrates in *This Land Is Your Land.*

Geography is a natural corollary to the study of history. Schwartz quotes the statement of Jamestown's John Smith, "As Geography without History seemeth as carkasse without motion, so History without Geography wandereth as vagrant without certaine habitation." And so Schwartz's geographical narrative follows American history from Columbus to the entrance of Alaska and Hawaii into our union. Each state is discussed in order of its incorporation into the nation.

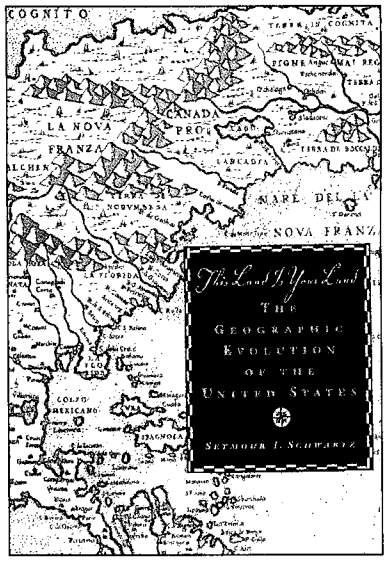
During his first expedition, Christopher Columbus landed on an island in the Caribbean Sea he named San Salvador. Though there is disagreement among scholars, the location is now believed by many to be an island in the Bahamas. As the Spaniards and their Italian captains got an early start exploring the Western hemisphere, they attached their names to many parts of it. Several who sailed with Columbus eventually settled on an island they named Puerto Rico. Columbus never made it to the major land mass of North America, but in 1513 Puerto Rico's Governor, Ponce de Leon, explored the peninsula that is now the southeasternmost portion of the United States. He named it Florida after the term for Easter, Pasqua Florida.

The naming of the North and South American continents suggests the often accidental nature of terms of place. The grand prize went to Amerigo Vespucci, the explorer whose real talent was public relations, since he built on Columbus's discoveries. (He also may have inflated his role in the expeditions in which he participated.) Schwartz reports that the German geographer-cartographer Martin Waldseemüller misassigned the name "America," and only to the South American continent at first. After Europe, Africa, and Asia, wrote Waldseemüller, a fourth continent "has been discovered by Americus Vespucius...and I do not see why anyone should rightly forbid naming it Amerige—land of Americus, as it were, after its discoverer Americus, a man of acute genius—or America, since both Europe and Asia have received their names from women." Six years later, Waldseemüller acknowledged the primacy of Columbus's discoveries over those of Amerigo Vespucci and dropped the name "America" from his maps and writings. But as is often the case in publishing, a retraction is rarely noticed.

That was not the last time a mistake played a role in naming a place. Consider Casper, Wyoming, which was named to honor Caspar W. Collins, who was killed in battle with Indians in 1865. A typographical error which got the hero's name wrong stuck, and supplanted the correct spelling.

Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, was involved in a spelling controversy that lasted for nearly a century. The early Scots-Irish settlers named the western Pennsylvania city for a British official from the French and Indian Wars, using their own suffix for indicating a hamlet. Later-arriving German immigrants dropped the "h." The h-less spelling was officially adopted in 1816, but never took hold among the people. In 1890, something called the Board of Geographic Names stipulated "Pittsburg." Again it failed to take. In 1911, the U.S. Department on Geographic Names returned the "h" to Pittsburgh and the controversy subsided.

Sometimes a city was fortunately renamed. Imagine an NFL matchup between the Terminus Falcons and the Yerba Buena 49ers. Atlanta started as Terminus because it was the end of a railroad line. San Francisco was originally named for a mint that grew in the area. It later took its name from San Francisco Bay, which was so called by early missionaries in honor of Saint Francis of Assisi.



A GEOGRAPHICAL HISTORY RUNNING FROM COLUMBUS TO THE ENTRANCE OF ALASKA AND HAWAII INTO OUR UNION.

The states, cities, towns, rivers, and lakes of America got their names from a riotous array of sources. Although British settlers dominated, the French, Spanish, Germans, and Dutch all left their mark in place names. Many of the best monikers came from Indians. There is no better source for a place name than people who have occupied the region for centuries.

This list-filled oversized book isn't always compelling reading, but Seymour Schwartz sheds light on many tidbits of interesting Americana. For where would we be if we didn't have Mississippi, Sante Fe, Vermont, and Muskogee to keep us oriented?

Clark Stooksbury writes from Knoxville, Tennesee.

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Off The Shelf

A REGULAR REVIEW OF CLASSIC, OVERLOOKED, NEWLY RELEVANT, OR OTHERWISE DESERVING OLDER BOOKS

THE RISE AND FALL OF MUSIC KINGS

By Martin Morse Wooster

The Maestro Myth: Great Conductors in Pursuit of Power
By Norman Lebrecht, 1990

A substantial portion of the cost of a ticket to a classical music concert goes to pay the orchestra's music director or guest conductor. Top conductors are compensated lavishly. But in this highly entertaining book, British music critic Norman Lebrecht suggests few of them earn it.

Lebrecht is a fine writer who gives his readers humorous anecdotes and catty details about the lives of great conductors. For those of us who only know Arturo Toscanini or Eugene Ormandy as names on record labels, the insights are highly illuminating.

As Lebrecht points out, the art of conducting is "nebulous and indeterminate.... No one has ever explained how one man with a physical flourish can elicit an exhilarating response from an orchestra while another, with precisely the same motions and timing, produces a dull, unexceptional sound." Nonetheless, there's a certain something that explains why we still buy decades-old discs by Fritz Reiner, Sir John Barbirolli, or Bruno Walter.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, composers tended to conduct their own compositions. But Richard Wagner's complex scores were so difficult that conducting eventually became a specialty. The first modern conductor, Hans von Bülow (1830-94), spent 20 years of his career conducting Wagner's operas, many from memory. Wagner rewarded his disciple by seducing—and marrying—von Bülow's wife, Cosima (a daughter of Franz Liszt).

Von Bülow was the first of a long line of conductors who believed they had to make the lives of their musicians miserable in order to get the job done. Gustav Mahler (1860-1911) insisted on being absolute dictator of the Vienna Opera at the turn of the century. He controlled every aspect of the opera, including the costume department and stage design. Mahler cut off free tickets for journalists and demanded that late arriving audience members sit in an uncomfortable stall known as "the sin bin." He even defied Austro-Hungarian Emperor Franz Josef II. When the emperor asked him to perform a light opera by popular Hungarian composer Count Tichy, Mahler refused, claiming he was incapable of understanding such a frothy work. "A chestnut tree," Mahler grumbled, "cannot be expected to produce oranges."

The most important conductor after Mahler, Arturo Toscanini (1867-1957), also demanded absolute authority. Toscanini went into fits whenever anyone called him "Mr. Toscanini." Everyone—even cab drivers—had to address him as "Maestro." Toscanini not only thought himself equal to the great composers, he routinely rewrote compositions he didn't like. His resistance to Italian Fascism—which led him, in 1931, to be beaten by Fascist thugs—came about not because Toscanini favored democracy, but because he disliked *anyone* (including Mussolini) giving him orders.

The great villain of *The Maestro Myth* is Herbert von Karajan (1908-89). Von Karajan was one of the world's richest conductors; when he died, his estate was worth 500 million deutschemarks (about $300 million). Much of this came from von Karajan's uncanny ability to advance—and profit from—new technology. In the wake of World War II, von Karajan, a Nazi Party member whose career was advanced by leading officials of the Third Reich, was swiftly rehabilitated to become a prominent conductor on classical LPs. In the 1970s, von Karajan toyed with laserdiscs. And in the late 1970s, he was one of the first to realize that LPs were about to be superseded by compact discs. Von Karajan profited substantially from investments in compact disc factories.

Von Karajan was also the first great conductor to realize jet airplanes enabled him to hold two or three posts simultaneously, tripling his pay. Like Mahler, von Karajan was the music director of the Vienna Opera. But von Karajan only conducted one-third as many performances as Mahler, because he was simultaneously the music director of the Berlin Philharmonic, the creator of the Salzburg Festival, and a frequent guest conductor in North and South America and Japan.

Since von Karajan's day, top conductors have increasingly become nonresident frequent flyers. Typically, a conductor is with his main orchestra for 12 weeks or less, jetting vast distances to hold another music directorship elsewhere. And these stars are increasingly well-paid. "In 1910, a top conductor earned ten times as much for a concert as an average factory worker took home in a week," Lebrecht writes. "In 1990, he was paid fifty times as much."

Not much has changed in the ten years since Lebrecht published his book. Conductors are less likely to earn substantial income from records, since the classical recording industry has collapsed (largely because "umpty-fourth" versions of most all the great works already exist). But the leading conductors are always heading to the airport. Their community ties are weakening, and their reduced stage presence ensures that the differences between top orchestras aren't as great as they once were.

As conducting salaries rise and rise, orchestras with shaky finances fold, reorganize, or transfer much of a conductor's power to the concertmaster. We'll probably have jet-setting conductors throughout the twenty-first century, Lebrecht concludes, but their excessive demands for wealth and power will diminish them "to the status of a Christmas tree—decorative, but wholly detached from the real world, where real decisions are made."

TAE associate editor Martin Morse Wooster is a classical music enthusiast.

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Country Music Conservative

AF... ; 1...de Photos/Hz y Scull Jr.

Mike Curb has one of the more unusual backgrounds of anyone in the music business.

At 56, he is one of the most prominent figures in entertainment, presiding over his own independent record label in Nashville with a stable of recording artists such as LeAnn Rimes, Tim McGraw, Jo Dee Messina, Wynonna Judd, Hank Williams, Jr., and Sawyer Brown, and annual sales exceeding $100 million. He also generates film soundtracks, for instance for the recent *Coyote Ugly*, which made more money as a record than as a film. Curb also profitably records a large quantity of Christian music.

But back in 1978, at the age of 34, Mike Curb was elected lieutenant governor of California. More than 1 million voters liked the idea of having Republican Curb in the number-two spot to rein in "Governor Moonbeam," Democrat Jerry Brown. This split ticket was the first time since 1894 that Californians elected a governor and lieutenant governor from different parties.

Curb was a college dropout whose earliest political achievement came when his band, the Mike Curb Congregation, performed at the Nixon White House. But he was phenomenally successful in business—starting his own record label at 20, selling it at 23 for $3.5 million, and taking over MGM Records at 24.

By midway through his term as California's second in command, Curb had distinguished himself as a bona fide alternative to the swinging liberalism of bachelor governor Brown. When Brown was away from California, the state supreme court gave Curb the constitutional authority to lead the government, an arrangement that often proved entertaining.

During the gasoline crisis in 1979, Curb favored temporarily lifting smog standards in order to ease the pinch. Brown was opposed. Nevertheless, the legislature passed just such a measure, and Curb raced from San Francisco to the capital in Sacramento to try to sign it while Brown was travelling. Brown, en route from Washington by plane, hit California air space two minutes before Curb picked up his pen, making him powerless. Incidents such as this galvanized Curb's supporters, and soon headlines like "Vinyl Prince Who Could Be Governor" and "Golden Boy" started appearing. *Newsweek* described Mike Curb as "California's next Ronald Reagan."

In 1982, Curb tried for Reagan's old job, but narrowly lost the gubernatorial primary to establishment GOP elder George Deukmejian (who went on to the statehouse). Curb returned to music, producing for Marie Osmond, Hank Williams Jr., and the Judds, while simultaneously moonlighting as finance director for the Republican Party in Washington. During the 1980s he raised more than $100 million for Ronald Reagan and the Republican Party.

Then, seven years ago, Mike Curb moved to Nashville. This was partly because most of his recording artists were there, in America's acoustic music eden, and partly because Curb's other business is NASCAR (he's part owner of a Busch Series car driven by Jay Sauter), and Nashville puts him closer to the tracks. "Plus, I really wanted to raise my family here," Curb tells *TAE*. Today, Curb's political involvement is limited to supporting candidates who are friends, such as Republican Senators Fred Thompson and Bill Frist. When asked, Curb gives advice to George W. Bush. (He also served on Bush's finance committee.)

Country singer Tim McGraw.

While his politics are rather different from those of most fellow California entertainment executives, in Nashville his conservatism fits right in. Most country music artists were decidedly with Bush during the past presidential campaign. Vince Gill, Amy Grant, Lorrie Morgan, Ricky Scaggs, Brooks and Dunn, John Michael Montgomery, and Sara Evans were just some of the big Nashville names behind Dubya.

Does Mike Curb ever miss the excitement that goes with the victories and defeats of national politics? "If you think politics is hardball, you ought to spend some time in this business," he says. Besides, he says, laughing, the Republicans "know where to call if they need me."

—John Meroney

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EDITED BY MARTIN MORSE WOOSTER

the Digest

SUMMARIES OF IMPORTANT NEW RESEARCH FROM THE NATION'S UNIVERSITIES, THINK TANKS, AND INVESTIGATIVE PUBLICATIONS

POLITICS

International Law vs. America

David B. Rivkin, Jr., and Lee Casey, "The Rocky Shoals of International Law," in *The National Interest* (Winter 2000/01), 1112 16th Street N.W. #540, Washington, D.C. 20036.

Lawyers Rivkin and Casey warn that modern international law "may prove to be one of the most potent weapons ever deployed against the United States."

Previously, international law was confined to diplomatic relations between nations. But in the 1990s, many non-governmental organizations (NGOs) persuaded international treaty-makers that they represented "global civil society" and could therefore impose "humanitarian" principles which transcended domestic laws. For example, according to the International Criminal Court, a "war crime" includes "intentionally launching an attack in the knowledge that such attack will cause incidental loss of life or injury to civilians or damage to civilian objects...which would be clearly excessive." Under this definition, some NGOs tried to utilize the Yugoslav war crimes tribunal to indict NATO commanders. The tribunal declined the request only because "the law is not sufficiently clear" as to whether NATO generals were war criminals.

Americans also try to manipulate new international laws. During the Yugoslav air war, U.S. diplomats claimed that the "right of humanitarian intervention" justified bombing Belgrade. Rivkin and Casey assert there is no such "right," and that if there were it would only inspire more global warring against neighbors.

American courts increasingly try cases involving the conduct of foreign citizens outside America. This is a mistake, Rivkin and Casey argue. Such cases should not be tried in the U.S. but conducted in the appropriate locales using local laws. Cambodia, for instance, should try members of the Khmer Rouge. The trial of the Libyans accused of planting bombs aboard Pan Am Flight 103 rightly took place under the laws of Scotland, where the airplane exploded, not in the U.S.

What is dangerous about the new international law, Rivkin and Casey conclude, is that it allows un-elected mandarins from other countries to impose their will in American affairs. This makes "international law a real and immediate threat to U.S. national interests."

ECONOMICS AND BUSINESS

Unsafe Government

Robert W. Hahn, Randall W. Lutter, and W. Kip Viscusi. *Do Federal Regulations Increase Mortality?* AEI-Brookings Joint Center for Regulatory Studies, 1150 17th Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.

Many federal regulations are supposed to make our lives safer. But American Enterprise Institute scholars Hahn and Lutter and Harvard Law School professor Viscusi say they often make matters worse.

Risk analysts commonly assume each additional $15 million of a nation's wealth equals one saved life (wealthier nations have more money to spend on doctors, exercise equipment, and healthy foods). Using this standard, Hahn and his colleagues looked at all safety regulations created by Washington between 1981-98, then selected those in which 90 percent of the benefits claimed were due to increases in the number of lives saved.

Of the 24 regulations in question, only four actually saved more than 100 lives. The most life-saving regulation was a 1996 Health and Human Services rule restricting the sale of smokeless tobacco and cigarettes to minors, which probably saved 4,900 lives.

Many regulations were so costly that Americans' lives actually became less safe. Using the $15 million-per-life standard, they found that 13 of the 24 rules reduced national income sufficiently to *increase* mortality on net. Even using a less stringent $50 million-of-income-saves-one-life test, fully eight of the 24 rules made matters worse. The worst offender was a 1991 Environmental Protection Agency rule governing solid waste disposal, which the authors calculate to cost $36 billion per life saved.

Such foolish regulations, the authors conclude, should be replaced with "alter-

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natives that would yield higher levels of economic welfare and help reduce the risk of death."

Don't Blame Joe Camel

John E. Calfee, "The Historical Significance of Joe Camel," in *Journal of Public Policy & Marketing* (Fall 2000), American Marketing Association, 311 South Wacker Drive #800, Chicago, Illinois 60606.

In the early 1990s, anti-tobacco activists targeted R.J. Reynolds' "Joe Camel" campaign, which ran from 1988-97. Using internal company documents obtained through lawsuits, R.J. Reynolds was accused of using the cartoon-like camel to persuade minors to start smoking. Calfee, a resident scholar at the American Enterprise Institute, finds the available data "provide no reason to associate the Joe Camel advertising campaign with increased smoking."

Studies by the University of Michigan and the Department of Health and Human Services show that smoking by 18- to 24-year-olds stayed relatively flat until 1992, four years into the Joe Camel campaign. Then the number of smokers in this age group rose by about 5 percent until 1997. Then it began to decline. But similar trends took place during the same period in Canada, where Camel is not a brand, and in Britain, which banned cartoon characters in tobacco ads in the 1980s.

There is some evidence Camel ads persuaded young smokers to switch brands. Proprietary R.J. Reynolds marketing data show that the percentage of 18- to 20-year-old smokers who smoked Camels rose from 3.1 percent in 1986 (before the Joe Camel campaign began) to a peak of 12.3 percent in 1992, falling to 9.2 percent by 1996.

If Joe Camel were so persuasive, the market share of Camels should have risen as more money was spent on ads. It didn't: In 1992, Camel ad spending dropped from $52.4 million to $35.1 million, but Camel's market share among 18- to 20-year-olds rose from 10 percent to 12.3 percent. In 1993, the ad budget rose to $51.3 million—and Camel's market share *fell* to 11.4 percent. If these fluctuations in advertising budgets "have no effect on consumption, it is highly unlikely that Joe Camel advertisements alone significantly increased consumption."

SOCIETY

Paying Charity CEOs

Peter Frumkin, "Are Nonprofit CEOs Overpaid?" in *The Public Interest* (Winter 2001), 1112 16th Street N.W. #530, Washington, D.C. 20036.

Several large nonprofits have suffered scandals recently over the excessive salaries paid their bosses. Frumkin, of Harvard's Kennedy School, believes donors to charities should have a greater say in how much money nonprofit CEOs make.

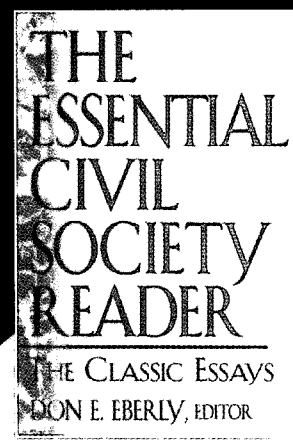
In 1998 the IRS issued regulations on the compensation of nonprofit executives. Under these rules, a head of a charity should be paid what similar executives are paid "by like enterprises under like circumstances." If the IRS determines the head of a charity is overpaid, he has to pay a tax of 25 percent of the excess compensation, and then return the amount deemed excessive back to the nonprofit. If this isn't done, the tax rises to double the "excessive compensation."

Yet the IRS doesn't define what "like enterprises" or "like circumstances" mean. This may encourage charitable CEOs to collect data about how much other bosses are paid, and then raise their own salaries in unison. The fact that for-profit executives often get stock options while those at non-profits do not could also unwittingly lead comparison-shopping non-profits to feel they needed to raise their salaries.

Frumkin suggests a more potent check on CEO salaries could be better information. Websites such as Guidestar.com contain essential financial data on nonprofits. Watchdog organizations, such as the Better Business Bureau or the National Charities Information Bureau, could do a better job in publicizing abuses.

Donors need to monitor how their contributions are used. When the United

DEMOCRACY'S FUTURE MAY DEPEND ON A STRONG CIVIL SOCIETY



"Few know or care more about civil society than Don Eberly, so it's not surprising that he has gathered in this book one of the finest collections of essays available on the subject. You'll agree with some, disagree with others, and learn from them all."
E.J. Dionne, Jr.,
Syndicated Columnist & Editor of *Community Works: The Revival of Civil Society in America*

"Emily Dickinson called poetry the best words in the best order. These essays are the poetry of our national conversation on civil society. If you want an accessible, everything-under-one-roof introduction to our current social condition, you will not find a better book."
David Blankenhorn,
President, Institute for American Values & Co-editor of *The Fatherhood Movement*

"The revival of scholarly and public policy interest in the 'institutions of civil society' is one of the more encouraging intellectual and social movements of the past decade. Still, much work needs to be done to clarify the normative tasks and limits of these institutions and to explain how they should properly relate to government, individual citizens, the market and to each other. This collection of essay helps set the stage for the next round in the 'civil society debate'."
Keith J. Pavilschek,
Fellow, Center for Public Justice

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Way's president was jailed in the early 1990s, contributions plummeted until the United Way slashed bureaucracy at its headquarters and began allowing donors to designate how their contributions would be spent. More effective donor control over nonprofits, Frumkin argues, would "help hold charities in check before scandals and problems occur."

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Don't Fear the Engineer

Ronald Bailey, "Dr. Strangelunch," in *Reason* (January 2001), 3415 South Sepulveda Boulevard #400, Los Angeles, California 90034.

Environmental activists are campaigning against genetically modified food. Bailey, *Reason*'s science correspondent, finds no evidence for their claims:

• *Eating genetically modified food is dangerous.* Last April, the National Research Council reported it could not find "any evidence suggesting that foods on the market today are unsafe to eat as a result of genetic modification." The few studies claiming genetically modified food is harmful are highly controversial. For example, in 1999 *The Lancet* published a study by Arpad Pusztai claiming that some people who ate genetically modified potatoes suffered organ damage. *The Lancet* also published a critique stating that Pusztai's experiments were "incomplete, included too few animals per diet group, and lacked controls" and thus "do not allow the conclusion" the potatoes were dangerous. Pusztai was then sacked for publicizing research which hadn't been peer-reviewed.

• *"Superpests" will wipe out crops.* Greens worry genes in modified plants will be transmitted to weeds, causing the weeds to become resistant to herbicides. But there's no indication a herbicide-resisting gene in one plant species will survive in another.

• *Consumers need to be protected by labeling.* Regulations already created by the Agriculture Department provide protection, since no genetically modified food can be certified as organic. Additional regulations (such as segregating genetically modified from non-modified crops) would cause food prices to rise by 10-30 percent "with no comparable increase in safety."

World food production must increase significantly over the next few decades to satisfy the needs of the Third World. The best and fastest way to do this is with genetically modified crops that can be grown more efficiently, and in more healthy forms, than existing varieties. Should genetically modified food be restricted, Bailey warns, the main victims will be poor people around the world.

OTHER COUNTRIES

Smart Immigrants Make Wealth

G. Pascal Zachary. *The Global Me: New Cosmopolitans and the Competitive Edge.* PublicAffairs, 250 West 57th Street #1321, New York, New York 10107.

In the global economy, America has a comparative advantage: Immigration policies that allow smart foreigners to become productive Americans. Zachary, a *Wall Street Journal* reporter, finds countries that freely admit hard-working immigrants do better economically than nations that don't.

Germany and Japan were economic powerhouses in the 1980s, but ran into problems in the '90s partly because of their immigration policies. Immigrants who want to work in Germany face formidable obstacles. Oleg Kovrigin, an artificial intelligence specialist, was allowed to emigrate from the Soviet Union in 1990 only after establishing he was the USSR's leading computer expert. But the company Kovrigin had a work permit for floundered—and immigration officials warned that if the firm failed, Kovrigin and his family would be deported within 24 hours. Entrepreneur Erik Masing wanted to hire Kovrigin, but German bureaucrats in the *Arbeitsant* (labor office) blocked him for a year, saying he had to prove there was no other worker in the European Union with Kovrigin's skills. Only after buying Kovrigin's failing workplace was Masing allowed to employ him.

Today, Kovrigin and Masing's successful software company employs 25 people. But half of the firm's work is sent to Russia, because the firm can't import Russian labor. Masing spends about one-sixth of his budget filling out labor permits and other immigration forms.

Japanese policies are harsher still. Only 1.5 percent of Japanese residents are foreigners, and minorities face formidable obstacles. Koreans are Japan's largest minority, but even those whose families have lived in Japan for several generations can't vote, run for office, or carry a Japanese passport.

As an example of Japanese bureaucracy, Zachary tells the story of Richard Curtis, who moved from California to Japan several years ago. Curtis has a Japanese wife and speaks the language fluently. When he tried to join the local volunteer fire department, he encountered a regulation prohibiting foreigners from performing any activity in Japan which "exercises administrative authority" or helps "to influence public opinion." Curtis can take part in ceremonial events with the fire company, teach classes in fire prevention, and maintain fire hydrants. But he can't actually fight fires.

Ireland, by contrast, has a more welcoming policy. For decades, the Irish had an extensive welfare state and falling birthrates. Mass emigration meant Ireland had a larger population in 1880 than in 1980. In the 1980s, the Irish opened their borders to talented immigrants from within the European Union and overseas. Pub owners began hiring Portuguese and Spaniards. Farmers brought in workers from Poland, the Czech Republic, and even Brazil.

As a result, Ireland is now a "Celtic tiger," with economic growth of over 8 percent a year, while Germany and Japan's restrictionist policies have helped prolong those nations' economic malaise. "The 'new' Ireland," Zachary writes, "represents money, diversity, and a fresh disregard for limits."

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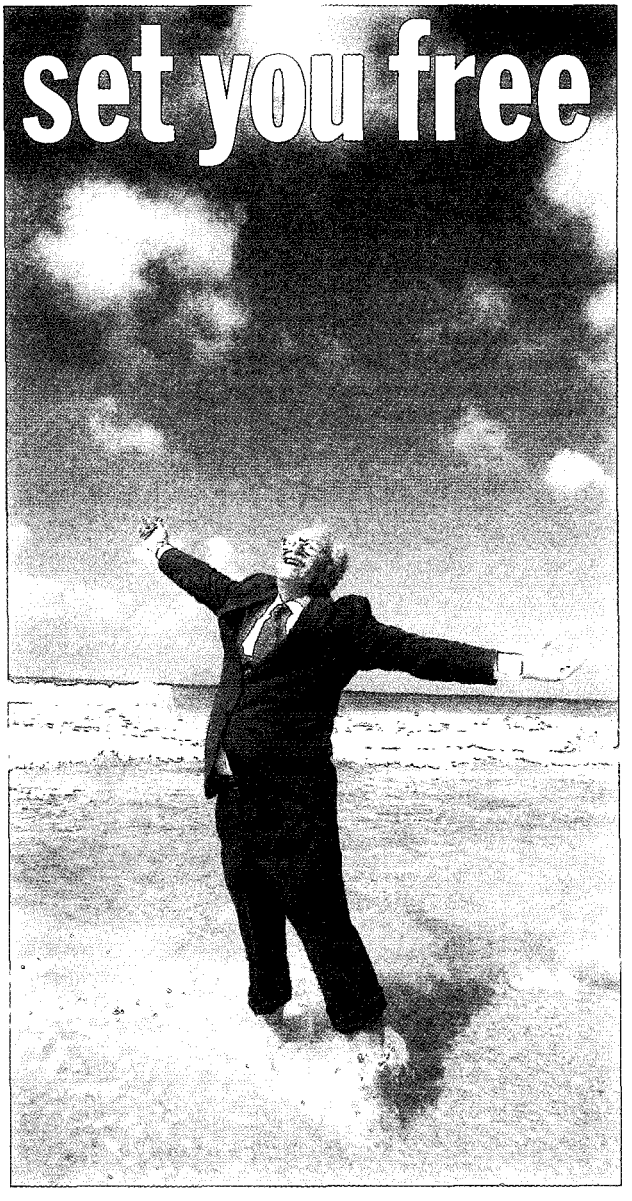
The truth will set you free



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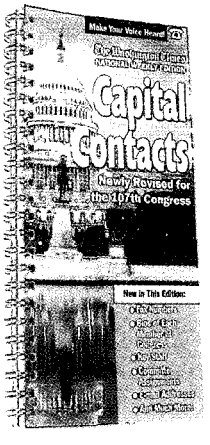

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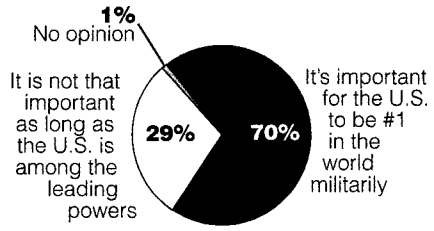
Opinion Pulse

EDITED BY KARLYN BOWMAN

Defending America

Seven in ten Americans say that it is important for the United States to be #1 in the world militarily. A near majority think that the military has gotten weaker in the past eight years and only about two in ten think it is becoming better prepared to fight wars. These findings go a long way toward explaining why more Americans than at any time since the early 1980s are saying that defense spending should be increased.

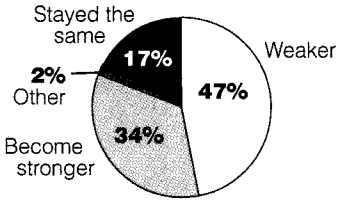
Question: Do you feel...?



Source: Survey by the Gallup Organization, May 2000.

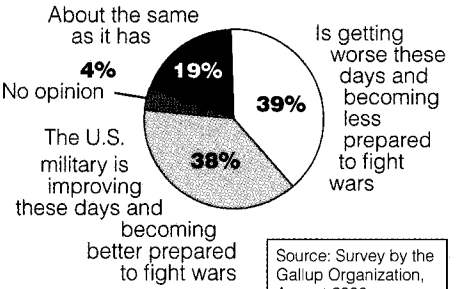
Question: In the past eight years, do you think the U.S. military has...?

Voters' responses



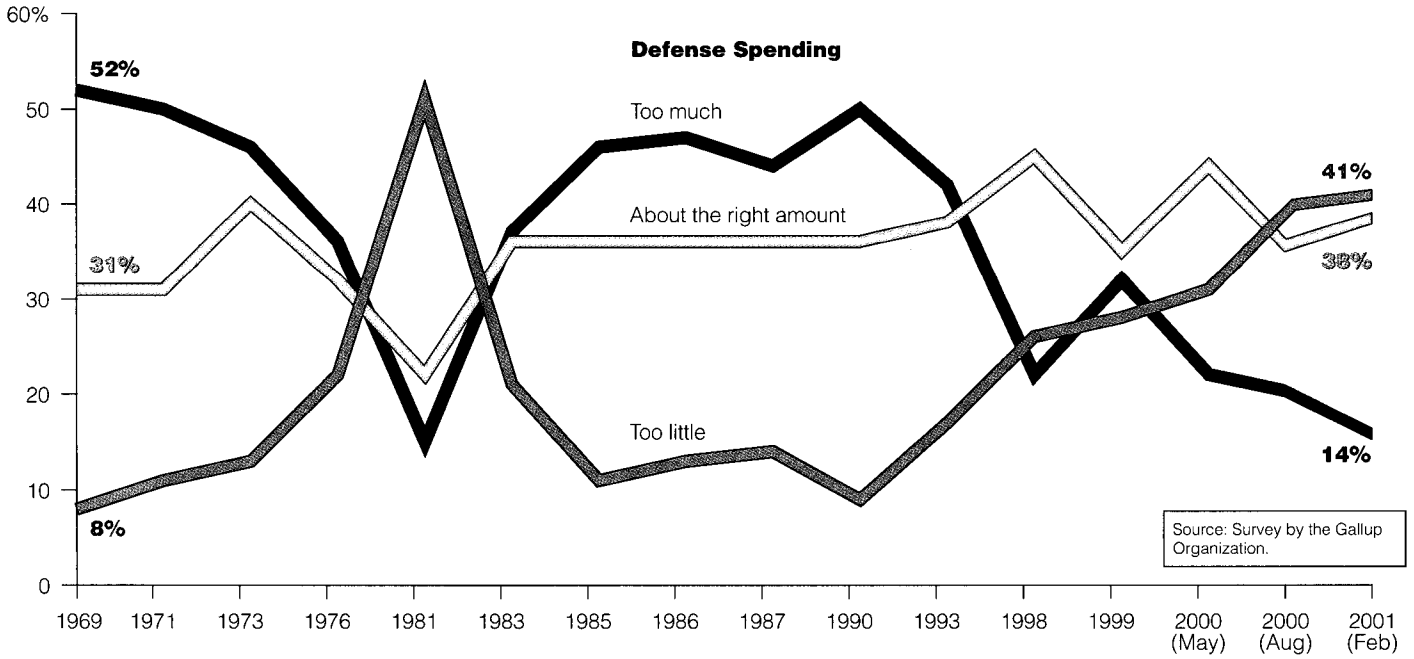
Source: Survey by Voter News Service of voters as they left the polls, November 7, 2000.

Question: Would you say that...?



Source: Survey by the Gallup Organization, August 2000.

Question: There is much discussion as to the amount of money the government in Washington should spend for national defense and military purposes. How do you feel about this? Do you think...?



Source: Survey by the Gallup Organization.

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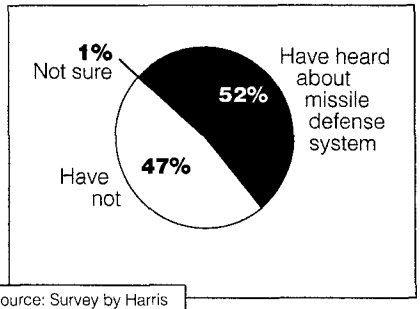
Missile Defense

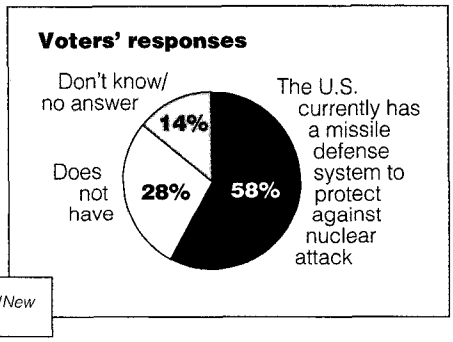
About half the public told Harris interviewers last summer that they knew the Pentagon was developing a missile defense system; 48 percent did not. Fully 58 percent believe we already have such a system in place. Given low levels of information and knowledge about missile defense, responses to pollsters' questions about such a system need to be interpreted carefully. The data suggest that Americans generally favor building a missile shield, even when told about objections some have raised.

Question: Have you seen, heard, or read anything about the missile defense system which the Pentagon has been developing for testing or not?



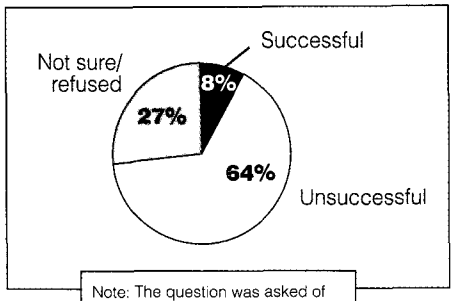
Source: Survey by Harris Interactive, July 2000.

Question: From what you know, do you think...?



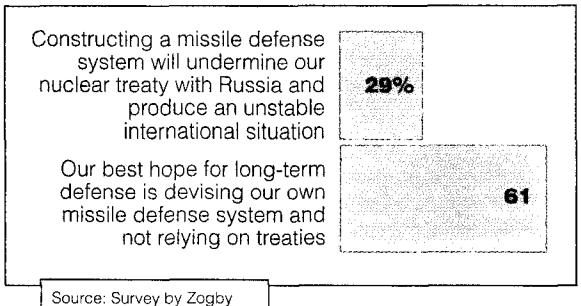
Source: Survey by CBS News/*New York Times*, September 2000.

Question: As far as you know, was the most recent test of whether or not the interceptor rocket could hit an incoming missile ...?



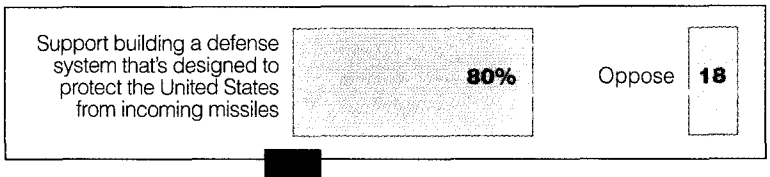
Note: The question was asked of the 52 percent of the sample who had seen, heard, or read anything about the missile defense system the Pentagon has been developing. In a follow-up question, 66 percent said we should continue with more research before deciding to develop the full missile defense system, and 19 percent said we should commit to developing one now.
Source: Survey by Harris Interactive, July 2000.

Question: Which of the following best represents your position on a missile defense system...?



Source: Survey by Zogby International, February 2000.

Question: Do you...?



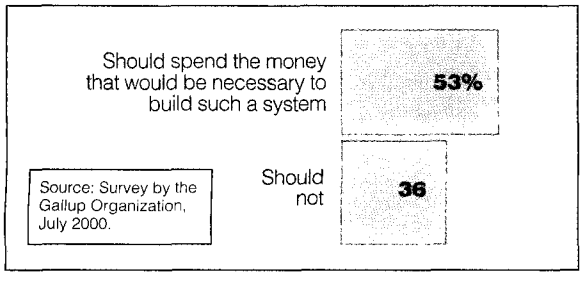
Of the 80% in favor:

Question: Would you...?

	Support	Oppose
If cost estimates run anywhere from $60 billion to $100 billion dollars	57%	37%
If scientists raised doubts about whether it ever could completely protect the U.S. from incoming missiles	62	33
If it broke an existing treaty with Russia	47	47
If it could create a new arms race as other countries tried to build better missiles	57	39

Source: Survey by ABC News/ *Washington Post*, January 2001.

Question: Do you think the government ...?



Source: Survey by the Gallup Organization, July 2000.

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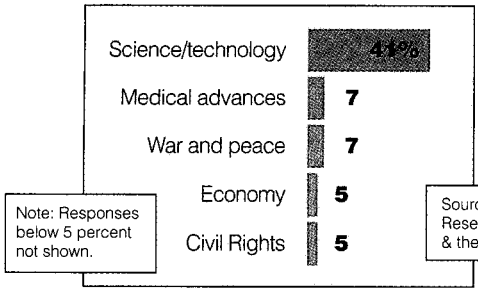
High On Science

Americans' receptivity to building a missile defense system may stem from their confidence in American science. People believe the country's greatest achievements during the 20th century are scientific and technological ones, and they have great faith in people in the scientific community. They are very confident that science and technology will make things better in the future, and they follow science stories with substantial interest.

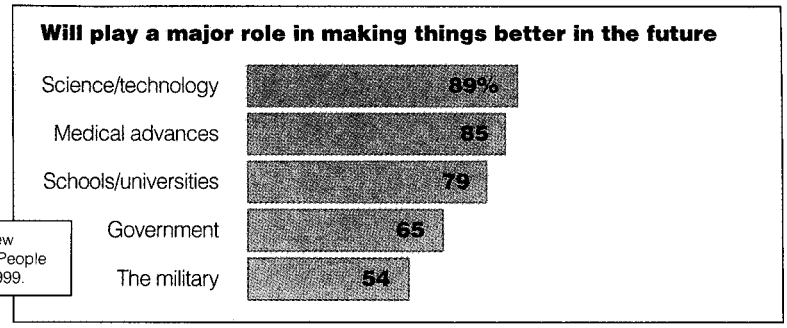
Question: What would you say has been America's greatest achievement during the 20th century...?



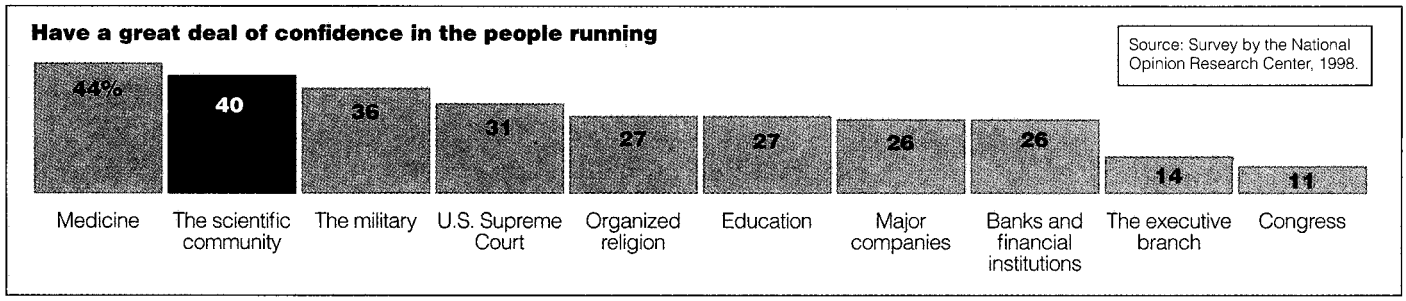
Note: Responses below 5 percent not shown.

Source: Survey by the Pew Research Center for the People & the Press, April-May 1999.

Question: If life is going to be better in this country in the future, how big a role...?



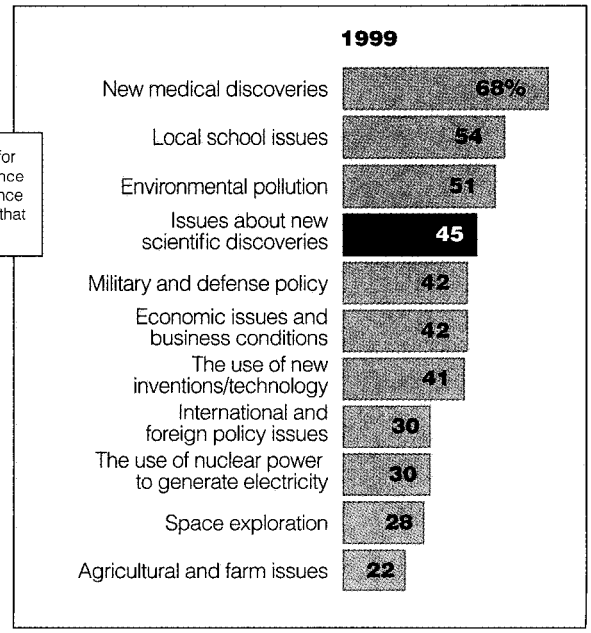
Question: I am going to name some institutions in this country. As far as the people running these institutions are concerned, would you say you have...?



Question: There are a lot of issues in the news and it is hard to keep up with every area. I'm going to read you a short list of issues, and for each one,—as I read it—I would like you to tell me if you are...?

	Very interested in new scientific discoveries	Moderately interested	Not at all interested
1979	36%	49%	14%
1981	37	45	17
1983	48	40	11
1985	44	44	12
1988	43	46	12
1990	39	48	12
1992	36	49	15
1995	44	45	11
1997	49	42	8
1999	45	43	11

Source: Surveys for the National Science Foundation, Science Indicators, latest that of 1999.



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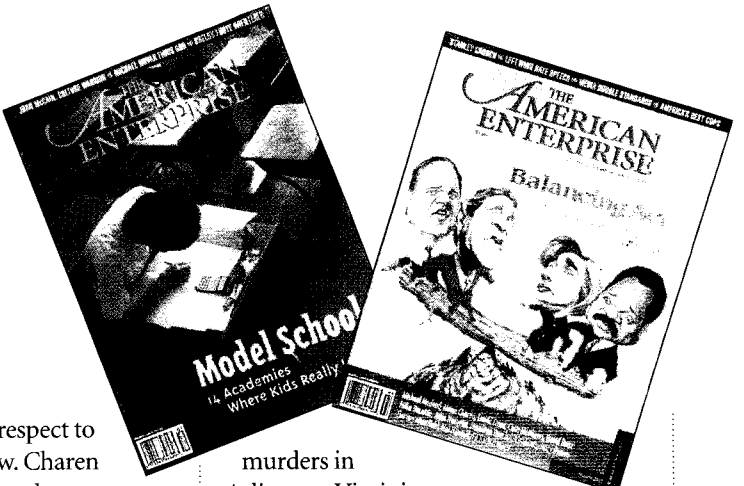
the Mail



It's unfair to lump foundations that support campaign finance reform into the same category as corporate special interests (SCAN, March). The former are trying to fix the system, the latter to corrupt it. Public Campaign and its funding foundations propose full public financing of campaigns. But guess what? Our electoral system already is funded by the taxpayer through the hidden tax system that results from government giveaways to campaign contributors. Unfortunately, it's costing taxpayers hundreds of times more than if we simply paid for the elections up front!

Every year Congress doles out $150 billion in corporate welfare. That's $1,500 per taxpayer per year. For $10 per taxpayer per year we could completely fund congressional and presidential elections.

Our public electoral system should not be funded by private interests, but by the people to whom Congress owes its allegiance: the taxpayers. We must stop the cash flow from those who want laws written to those who write them. In any other country we'd call this bribery. Only in America do we call it freedom of speech.

Jack E. Lohman
Business Leaders for Campaign Reform

One should not take seriously Mona Charen's diatribe against Democratic "race-baiting" (BIRD'S EYE, March). After all, Republicans relied heavily on such tactics throughout the party's ascendancy in the 1970s and '80s. Building on Nixon's "Southern Strategy," conservative candidates for office often sought to inflame white resentment against the welfare state.

From Reagan's "welfare queen" to Bush's Willie Horton to Jesse Helms' "white hands" ads to the revelations of Trent Lott's membership in the Council of Conservative Citizens, conservatism's claim of innocence with respect to these matters rings hollow. Charen and her comrades ought to denounce with equal force the political depradations of men whom they would prefer to celebrate, men whose role in the further alienation of black Americans over the past 35 years they would prefer to ignore.

Thomas Till
Falls Church, Virginia

Thanks for your articles on "The Special Case of Mexican Immigration" (December). Those who say America is becoming more "diverse" miss the reality: We are actually becoming more Mexican. In southern California, thousands of Americans have left rather than live where dozens of Mexicans live in one single-family house and a teenager needs to speak Spanish to get a job at McDonald's.

Many Mexicans believe the Southwest belongs to them and intend to take it back. Mario Obledo, former California Secretary of Health and Welfare, says, "California is going to be a Hispanic state. Anyone who doesn't like it should leave." Does that statement celebrate assimilation?

Americans should be alarmed by the looming demographic reality. When California becomes majority Mexican, millions of Spanish speakers will demand political unification with their cultural homeland. We must close the border and deport foreign nationals living here illegally or this country will fly apart as surely as Yugoslavia.

Brenda Walker
Berkeley, California

Michael Barone asks "Does America Have an Assimilation Problem?" (December). Of course it does. The three most recent murders in Arlington, Virginia, were committed by Latino gang members. When matches between Mexico and U.S. soccer teams are held at the Los Angeles coliseum, Americans cannot raise our flag and the "Star Spangled Banner" cannot be sung. Why? The Mexican Americans won't tolerate it.

Thomas Jefferson noted immigrants would "bring with them the principles of the governments they leave." He feared they might waver between licentiousness and monarchy: "It would be a miracle were they [the immigrants] to stop precisely at the point of temperate liberty." Jefferson was close, but there is no wavering, only unabashed licentiousness.

Barone may be right that the current Latinos will someday, perhaps in 100 years, "become interwoven into American life." Assimilation could only happen if there were a static multitude of Latinos. But more millions come every year. Barone wants to rely on luck. I want to rely on a moratorium on immigration.

James G. McDonald
Arlington, Virginia

John McWhorter's "The Gift of Competition" (December) should be mandatory reading for every American. He sums up the complexities of our racial morass. I hope his views reach all citizens so we can expose and dethrone the demagogues, such as Jesse Jackson and Al Sharpton, whom the media treat as the spokesmen for the entire black community. Those two men and their disciples would lose significant influence if we were to reach racial harmony and equality in this country.

Theresa Nelsen
Jacksonville, Florida

The American Enterprise welcomes your comments. Send to "The Mail," The American Enterprise, 1150 17th Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. Or fax to (202) 862-5867. Or e-mail TheAmericanEnterprise@compuserve.com. Please include your address and phone number. Published letters may be edited for length and clarity.

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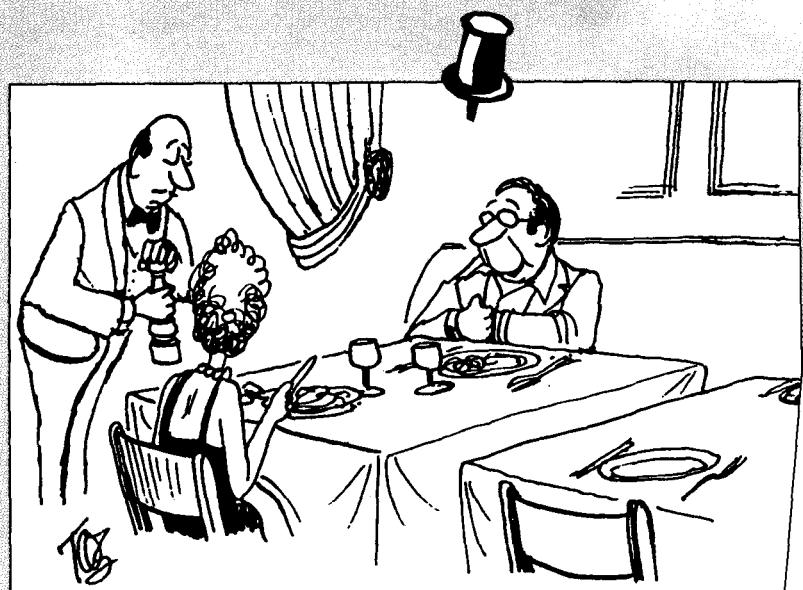

"I gotta tip the pepper guy, too?"

"Gee, doctor, I never knew germs came that large!"

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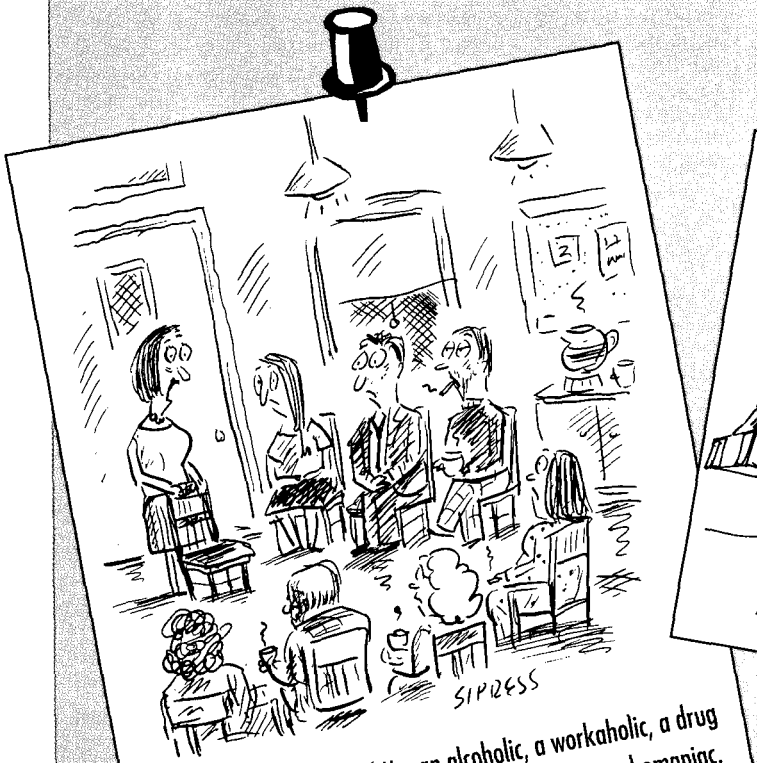
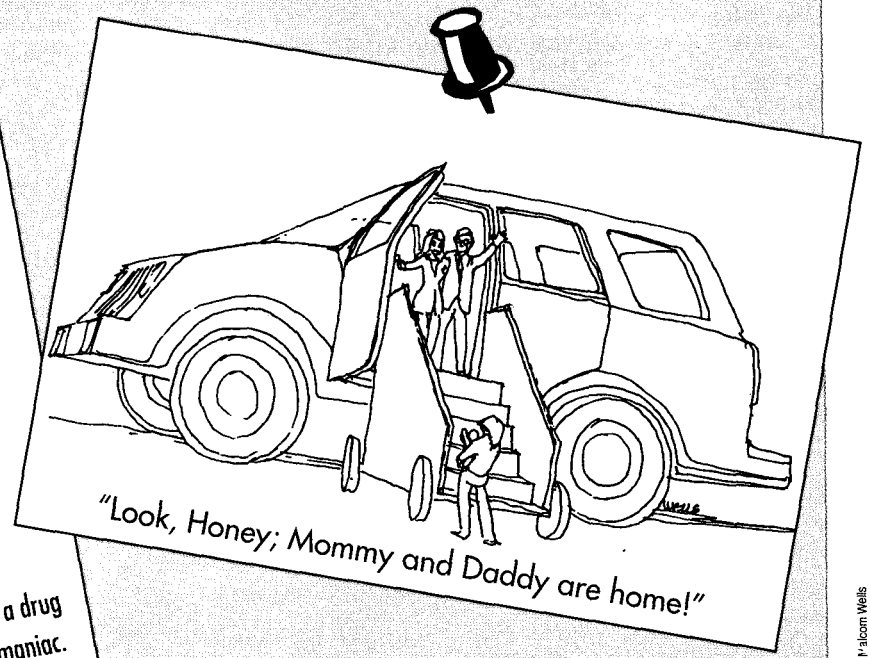


Hi. My name is Terri, and I'm an alcoholic, a workaholic, a drug addict, a chronic gambler, a binge eater, and a nymphomaniac.



"Look, Honey; Mommy and Daddy are home!"

Left: Audrew Toos

Malcom Wells

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How did *The First Measured Century* measure up?

Our Think Tank Special, The First Measured Century, aired nationally in primetime on December 20th, 2000. Our viewers respond:

"Thank you for the best program I've ever watched on television!!!"

"It is up there with the best of the great stuff on PBS. Wishing you continued success."

"I wish to thank PBS and Mr. Wattenberg for one of the most rapturous, captivating and informative documentaries I've seen on WETA."

"I was quite impressed with the depth of information provided in your program. It has clarified certain issues I have always had in my mind."

"Since the advent of television, people have prophesied its potential as the ultimate mass education tool.... But, in my view, not until recently has it met this capricious expectation. Tonight, it certainly did."

"I am a high school English teacher, and have just watched your program and surfed your site. Thank you so very much for providing this interesting look at the twentieth century."

"I have only a small comment to make: I loved it! Keep up the good work."

"Bravo! You were able to make not only history but the statistics of history personal and entertaining."

"I thoroughly enjoyed watching the show tonight. As I watched, I was surfing the web, pulling up information about topics mentioned in your program."

"Your presentation was both inspirational and educational. It is the type of show that the younger generations should be exposed to."

"What became abundantly clear was the power that is unleashed through the collection and compilation of demographic information."

"The First Measured Century was undoubtedly your best to date. I only hope the school systems pick up on it and show it over and over again with healthy supplements from your written material."

"My sincere compliments to Mr. Wattenberg on his most convincingly presented and beautifully spoken narration."

"Thanks to the sponsors for their support of this program."

"I am a 29 year old African-American woman who is also a working, single parent. I wanted to send you a few lines to say that I found your program very interesting and thought-provoking."

2-cassette video version ($29.98) available from PBS Home Video: 1-800-Play-PBS. Learn more online at www.pbs.org/fmc

The reference volume, "The First Measured Century: An Illustrated Guide to Trends in America, 1900 - 2000," is available wherever books are sold. Hardcover, $50, or quality paperback, $20

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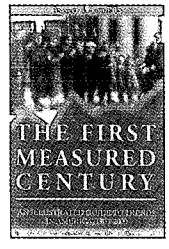

The PBS program on ideas.

Funding for The First Measured Century was provided by T. Rowe Price, Pfizer, Inc., the Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation, the John M. Olin Foundation, the Bernard & Irene Schwartz Foundation, the Smith Richardson Foundation, the D & D Foundation, PBS, and the Corporation for Public Broadcasting.

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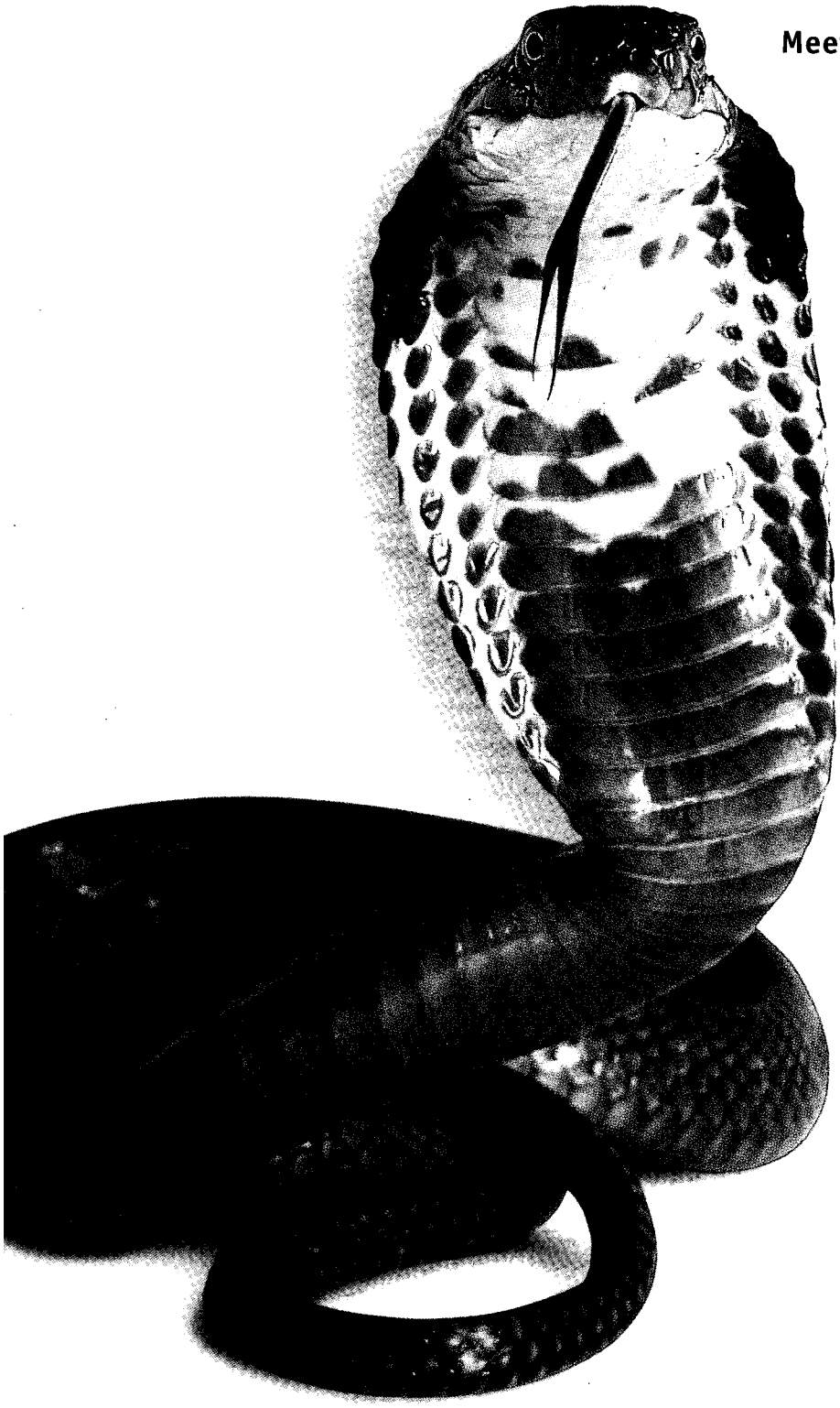

Meet Ms. McPhee's new math tutor.

*King cobra eggs have a 70-day incubation period. If 5 king cobras lay their eggs 7 days apart, then 10 days after these eggs hatch, 7 more king cobras lay their eggs 6 days apart, how long until all the eggs have hatched?**

Who would have thought to use statistical data gathered at the zoo to teach complex problem-solving and to foster a greater appreciation of endangered animals?

As far as we know, fifth grade math teacher Paula McPhee of Covington, Washington is the only one. "Zoorithmetics" has earned her State Farm's Good Neighbor Teacher Award™ and a donation of $10,000 to the educational institution of her choice.

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*Answer: 214 days.

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